THE SURVEY

Graphic Number

Vol. LXVIII, No. 5 June 1, 1932

CONTENTS

COVER . . *Portrait, Walden School Studio, by Lewis W. Hine*

FRONTISPIECE . *Sculpture by Max Kalish* 212

"YES, MY WORKERS ARE DRIER, BUT—" . . . *Whiting Williams* 213

THE WEST *IS* DIFFERENT . . . . . *Joanna C. Colcord* 217

ROCK-BOTTOM RESPONSIBILITY . . . . *Robert F. Wagner* 222

OUT FROM CONFUSION . . . . . *Frankwood E. Williams, M.D.* 225

SCHOOLS IN A CHANGING WORLD . . . . *Set down by Beulah Amidon* 228

A COLLEGE MUSEUM WITH A PLAN . . . . *Blake-More Godwin* 232

WHAT'S HAPPENING TO THE SCHOOLS *John K. Morton* and *Margaret A. Morton* 236

MUCH ADO ABOUT HITLER . . . . . *John Palmer Gavit* 239

LETTERS & LIFE . *Edited by Leon Whipple* 240

TRAVELER'S NOTEBOOK 249

The Gist of It

THE ferment over prohibition has brought bubbling to the surface a widespread feeling that large employers of labor have turned from dry to wet. We asked WHITING WILLIAMS to find out about it and here (page 213) he gives the results of a great number of personal interviews and answers to letters of inquiry.

JUST back in New York from a trip to the Pacific Coast, the Inland Empire and other points West, JOANNA C. COLCORD tells of some of the new and highly original plans for tackling unemployment, which she is studying as director of the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation. Page 217.

SINCE the Triangle Fire which shocked the public into action as to factory hazards, ROBERT F. WAGNER has been identified with the constructive legislation that has put New York State in the front rank of industrial administration. In the U. S. Senate he has become in a sense the custodian and residual heir to the findings of the employers, engineers, economists, labor leaders and social workers who gathered in the President's Unemployment Conference of 1921, and whose major recommendations have been shelved successively by the Harding, Coolidge and Hoover administrations. At the last session he introduced the bills providing for adequate unemployment statistics and public-works planning which passed the last session of Congress and were signed by the President; the bill for a federal-state employment service, which passed Congress and was vetoed by the President; and the resolution providing the Senate committee to investigate unemployment insurance of which he writes on page 222. Two bills (among others in the current Congress) would give effect to his recommendations as minority member of that committee.

AS a capstone to FRANKWOOD E. WILLIAMS' three articles on Russia and Italy which Survey Graphic has been enabled to publish through a fund in memory of Halle Schaffner, we here publish a fourth (page 225) looking at our American confusion with the insight that a psychiatrist draws from the experiment abroad. These articles will be included in a book by Dr. Williams to be published by Farrar and Rinehart during the forthcoming season.

ONE session of the Progressive Education Association meetings had much the flavor of a one-act play—a series of many questions and some answers about the parts to be played by schools and schoolmen in this new world where rapid change must be accepted as an inescapable part of everyday life. Set down (page 228) by BEULAH AMIDON of the staff of Survey Graphic.

BLAKE-MORE GODWIN, who writes with so much appreciation on the model museum at Smith College (page 232), was for ten years curator at the Museum of Art in Toledo and since 1929 has been the director of the museum. He has written on art for many periodicals.

THE doleful story of closed schools, unpaid teachers, balky taxpayers is only part of the picture of the public-school situation in a time of prolonged depression. By and large the schools have risen superbly to the situation. They have done their regular work and taken on a whole range of new activities in the way of furnishing relief for children who are cold and hungry and barefoot. Teachers have accepted salary cuts—and contributed to relief funds. Trustees and officers, in the face of reduced budgets, have devised new and thrifty practices. The summary of a study of the situation (page 236) is by John K. Norton, for ten years director of research of the National Education Association and now a professor at Teachers College, Columbia University; and Margaret A. Norton, who was formerly associate director of research of the N.E.A. and is now Mrs. Norton.

SURVEY ASSOCIATES, INC.

112 East 19 Street, New York

PUBLISHERS

THE SURVEY — Twice-a-month — $5.00 a Year

SURVEY GRAPHIC — Monthly — $3.00 a Year

LUCIUS R. EASTMAN, *president;* JULIAN W. MACK, JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN, JOHN PALMER GAVIT, *vice-presidents;* ANN REED BRENNER, *secretary;* ARTHUR KELLOGG, *treasurer.*

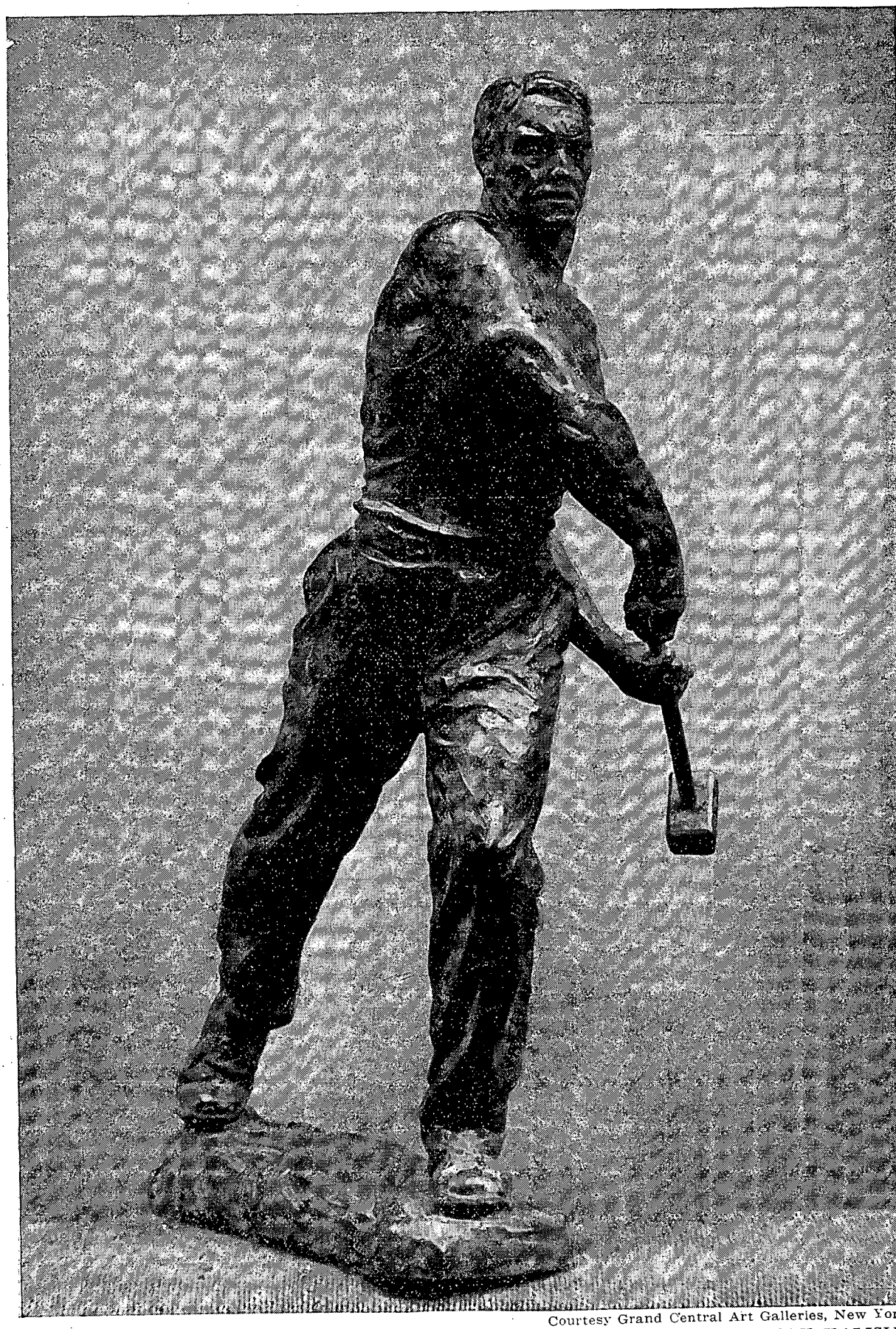
PAUL U. KELLOGG, *editor.*

ARTHUR KELLOGG, *managing editor;* HAVEN EMERSON, M.D., ROBERT W. BRUÈRE, MARY ROSS, BEULAH AMIDON, LEON WHIPPLE, JOHN PALMER GAVIT, LOULA D. LASKER, FLORENCE LOEB KELLOGG, GERTRUDE SPRINGER, *associate editors.*

EDWARD T. DEVINE, GRAHAM TAYLOR, JANE ADDAMS, JOSEPH K. HART, *contributing editors.*

MOLLIE CONDON, *circulation manager;* MARY R. ANDERSON, *advertising manager.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Courtesy Grand Central Art Galleries, New York

MAN POWER

MAX KALISH

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SURVEY
GRAPHIC NUMBER

JUNE 1
1932

Volume LXVIII
No. 5

"Yes, My Workers Are Drier, But—"

By WHITING WILLIAMS

"ARE or are not your employes soberer, thriftier and more reliable today than pre-Volstead?"

"If so, why does prohibition appear lately to have become less popular with those industrialists who originally were its leading backers?"

"In any case, where do you think we should go from here—straight ahead, back-track or detour?"

These and similar questions I have lately (at the suggestion of Survey Graphic) been asking by letter, conversation and conference, of all sorts of officials in all sorts of big, little and medium-sized industrial units—board chairmen, company presidents, plant superintendents, employment managers and such.

The Answer is "Yes"

TO the first question the replies show a unanimity delightful to any reporter-collater. "There can be no question," so answer the great majority, "but that the worker and his family—and through these, industry in general—have benefited from prohibition—decidedly."

And nothing is more certain than that this almost unanimous opinion is based not upon mere hearsay but upon the personal observation and present experience of persons either directly in, or very close to daily face-to-face contact with the country's industrial workers. Thus, for instance, there appears only slight variation in the observation of the group that Blue Monday has, since prohibition, become a thing of the almost forgotten past. "Payday," so runs the general testimony, "is now only another day; the old problem of absenteeism and its attendant expense of holding workers in reserve to take the places of the drinkers, has simply disappeared."

Along with this, according to most of those interviewed, has vanished a whole train of attendant evils caused, to a considerable extent, by a closeby and always beckoning bartender. Like this:

> My industrial experience [so a plant manager in western New York reports] covers more than twice as many years working under the saloon system as the period covered by prohibition, and the contrast so far as this industrial plant is concerned is very marked. Formerly the question as to what day should be payday, on account of the absences sure to follow, was of prime importance to efficient plant operation. At this time there is no noticeable increase in such absences, and the increased sobriety of workmen during, for instance, the Christmas season, has been remarked upon from year to year. This year's report is that no drunkenness whatever occurred during the holidays.
>
> In the olden days [says a Midwest steel-plant "super"] empty liquor bottles could be found most any place in the plant and there were several well defined holes under the fence where men went from their work to nearby saloons during working-hours. After each payday a number of men not yet sobered up would be missing from work. Furthermore, garnishees were a regular thing on payday. In fact the business in the office of the local justice was so great that he had the company's name printed on the garnishee summons.
>
> Today conditions have entirely changed. Payday is like every other day—and we haven't seen any sign of liquor or intoxication in the plant for over two years. During the entire period of prohibition the evidences of drunkenness among employes have been negligible. During several years we have not had a single garnishee served in this office.
>
> Still further, since the beginning of 1925, we have had just five lost-time accidents, and none of these by the widest stretch of imagination could be attributed in any way to liquor. The interest of the men in their work and the morale of the organization are so much better today that

In Survey Graphic for February 1931 Whiting Williams reported on what workingmen thought of prohibition and of what it was doing to them. Here he reports on their employers, following weeks of interviewing in various cities. As social worker, factory worker, lecturer, student of labor and industrial consultant, he has innumerable first-hand contacts with both employers and men. "It is evident," he says, "that the problem as disclosed calls for cool and non-controversial consideration and statement." A dispassionate report of what he found, whether wet or dry, by a man who has been a friend of prohibition because it took the saloon off the worker's back.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

there just isn't any comparison. I do not mean to attribute all of this change to the absence of liquor, but there can be no doubt but that this is the largest contributing factor.

Similarly, according to a Pennsylvania metal plant official:

The superintendent of the open hearth of our largest steel plant says that the greatest worry of his early experience has been dispelled, because he can rest assured that when he needs a man that man will be in good shape, not only to handle his work well, but also to take care of himself in that rather dangerous department.

What difference of opinion is expressed by the group arises largely because different types of workers associated with different types of work have always had different attitudes toward liquor. Thus a nationally known maker of high-grade automobiles reports that "because our workers have always had to be of the highly skilled class which favored our long-standing policy of immediate discharge for alcoholic breath, we have never at any time suffered from 'Blue Monday'."

HOWEVER, one or two employers of a lower group of workers in areas of minimum enforcement report that "We believe there is, if anything, more trouble now in this respect than before prohibition." Another, connected with a Kentucky heavy-metal plant, believes that the "hang-over" has been eliminated simply because the former total of alcohol is now imbibed, thanks to the use of homebrew, not on one day as formerly but throughout the week. Incidentally, an employment manager in Connecticut points out that while prohibition has killed the old-type carouse, the longer—and perfectly sober—week-ends of the present day, filled as they are with strenuous automobile trips, tend to bring workers back onto the Monday morning job who are almost as fatigued and as unfit for work as in the old days when travel was restricted to the corner grog-shop.

Nevertheless, the great majority express very plainly and with noticeable agreement in details, not only their belief that absenteeism of all sorts has been greatly lessened; they are convinced that the worker is spending much less time and money in the speakeasy than he used to in the saloon with "a good part of his money now diverted to legitimate business products." A Chicago employer of a rough type of labor says:

We recall the streets just outside our plant, with their rows of saloons, which our men had to pass as they entered or left their work. The obvious benefit from the removal of these temptations following prohibition, was to give them a chance to spend for useful purposes the amount of money which formerly went across the bar. As a matter of fact, I am told that savings deposits in the neighborhood banks reached their highest point just following the Eighteenth Amendment. . . . Our workers looked on the saloon as a social center, so they were subjected to the temptation to buy their drinks on credit and to settle on payday.

For the most part, the failure to patronize the speakeasy and the bootlegger is laid to the item of expense—"the costs seem to the worker excessive for the result achieved." Personally, I am surprised to note so little mention of the other factor evident in my own observation. I mean the very real fear on the part of the typical worker of the risk he faces the moment he attempts to lessen expense by buying the cheaper stuff. In addition, of course, there are all those items mentioned in an earlier Survey Graphic (February 1931): the "speak's" sloppiness and dinginess, its remoteness, and other unalluring characteristics which make it a very different breed of cats from the old saloon with its bright lights, polished mahogany and shining mirrors.

On this point as elsewhere, however, a few express the belief that lessened time in the speakeasy is explained by the heavier wallop packed by the stuff there made available: "It does not take a man long to get two or three drinks of awfully poor and deadly liquor."

"While they may not spend as much time in the speakeasy as in the old saloon," explains one, "I have the impression they may spend more money for hard liquor per drink, get drunk quicker, and have a severer headache on the kind of stuff now sold."

The great majority, however, agree that, as one employment manager in a big mid-Ohio foundry puts it:

The average factory worker simply does not pay bootleg prices for liquor. If he makes homebrew or wine he does it for less outlay than he formerly spent in the saloon and gets less alcohol; first, by reason of the actual alcoholic content of what he drinks and, second, by reason of the surroundings in which he drinks it. As a result a larger part of his earnings goes to shelter, food, and clothing for himself and family.

Also with the testimony of another:

Talking with managers in other steel centers where foreigners still work indicates to me that although homebrew is made in considerable quantities, it does not affect men's work as did the pre-prohibition practice.

There is, however, with respect to homebrew's moral and non-economic effects, one expression of this opposing viewpoint:

The worker makes his homebrew. So does his neighbor. His wife and his children help in the bottling. His friends are all making homebrew and there is a competitive spirit to see who can make the best. His actual consumption of alcohol is more and the distressing part of it is that men who used to pride themselves as teetotalers are now making beer, wine and whiskey, to say nothing of synthetic gin.

As to bootleggers, these have lately been mentioned in some of my conferences with small groups of employers in various industrial towns and cities, as becoming so bold that they enter the shops and try to sell during working hours.

"We have had recently to run bootleggers out of our plant," relates an employment manager, "and a search of the place disclosed bottles of whiskey hidden around the benches of the workmen." Significantly, however, he adds: "This incident caused the superintendent to lose his job."

SUCH an outcome is certainly proper enough. Indeed, it is hard to believe that such a symptom of bad managerial control and discipline could be at all general today in American industry. For economic as well as moral reasons. I recall that one Monday morning in a steel plant at Douai (North France), my convivial landlord was carrying such a hangover that he bought me a drink of gin at the secret bar operated, to my astonishment, by a machinist who worked a few feet from me—after, of course, much signalling to make sure that the boss was temporarily absent. Within the following half-hour my treater fell and so injured his leg that he had to be taken to the dispensary, while I suffered in the same interval more cuts on my hands from sawing my big steel beams than in the entire previous week.

"Recently," so an Ohio employment manager relates how intimately this matter of the bootlegger ties into the plant's whole commercial as well as its industrial problem, "one of our $5000 machines was practically destroyed by a mechanic who had bought liquor from a vender in the plant during

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

business hours. Did our president hit the ceiling! He vowed that he would locate that bootlegger if it took a year. A moment later, however, the news was broken to him that the 'legger' was none other than the man who, with this same president's permission, supplied the company's sales-manager with the liquor used at the company's sales conventions."

As to whether the number of bootleggers has been increased by the depression, a bare majority seem to agree that it has. Nevertheless, as one puts it, "Hard times works both ways: while bootlegging would normally furnish income for a man out of work, the number of people able to buy the stuff is at the same time greatly lessened." Others support my own summer observations among workers by mentioning the bootleg industry's present "highly competitive situation—with the 'legger's profits under recent conditions generally decreasing markedly while its hazards are increasing seriously."

ALTOGETHER, it is a great satisfaction that all the conferences, interviews and letters of these past few weeks show so much agreement with my own observations and convictions as reported in the earlier Survey Graphic article. Beyond question, according to these industrial-official observers, the absence of the saloon has brought to the worker and his family and to the industrial supervisor and his job a whole group of gains entirely too large to be offset by the worker's homebrew, speakeasy, or bootlegger. Properly enough, of course, these reporters do not give to the closed saloon entire credit for all the various improvements visible since 1919 in the field of the worker's well being in particular and of industrial relations in general. Shorter work-days, more machinery and the resultant increased requirements of skill, flivvers, movies, radio, more intelligent and social-minded captains of industry and labor leaders—all these are to be assigned their share along with Prohibition for what is undoubtedly a marked improvement along practically the entire industrial front with the exception of such demoralized and disorganized sectors as, for instance, the soft coal fields.

These authoritative observations and testimonies are further supported, I believe, by such secondary developments as these:

(1) The greatly increased quantities of soft drinks and milk now brought in by truck-load to the ordinary working factory, as mentioned a year ago and as reflected by country-wide statistics.

(2) The flock of flivvers sure to be parked even nowadays by job-seekers—and, I believe, with full justification—near the gates of plants taking on men; a flock which disappears, when the morning hiring is finished, as completely as do the limousines after the orchestra concert at Symphony Hall.

(3) The difficulty encountered by any loiterer in our slums on any summer's day, when he tries to get away from the sound of at least a couple of radios! (The housewife appears to turn it on the moment she arises—with the volume-knob screwed over so far to the right that she can hear satisfactorily whether she is busied with attic, cellar, or chicken-coop.)

4) The ease of hearing from most train-conductors such testimony as this:

When I used to work the "Growler" Saturday nights out of Pittsburgh, I've seen liquor flow down the aisle till it would positively wet your feet, with three hundred yellin' and fightin' drunks that had to be dropped off at the different towns along the line. Though I carried brass knuckles and a billy, I never had to use 'em. But my pal, the brakie, died later from a drunken fellow's beer bottle. Today I don't see one passenger like that to one thousand—no, not to ten thousand. Fact is, if I was to see a drunk here tonight I swear to goodness I don't know what I'd do!

Supported also—though, of course, not proved—by the fact that last summer, five days of loafing with Detroit's worker-groups and five nights of sleeping with them in parks or all-night movie-houses (at 10 cents) revealed not one single worker under the slightest influence of liquor.

In sum, I hope I'm not wrong in believing that these recent letters and other contacts with the employers justify the conviction formulated from all my 1930-31 contacts with the workers, jobless and otherwise, that:

In spite of its defects, Prohibition has taken the weight of the liquor traffic to a very significant extent off the necks of the hundred-odd million of our fellow-citizens whose narrow margin forces them daily to CHOOSE between booze and shoes; and has put it onto the white-collared necks of the few-odd million who can afford all the booze and all the shoes they want.

"Yes, the workers are drier—decidedly."

"BUT—!"

RIGHT here, however, I am forced to add, in my capacity as reporter, that my employer group reveals a predominant tendency to add to all the above a very emphatic *"But!"* In spite of the beneficent effects they observe upon their workers they disclose a marked swing away from the experiment as a whole.

How come? Well, the fairest thing is to quote, just as they are given me, typical statements of the three main reasons.

A Pennsylvania mill-town industrial secretary writes:

There is considerable concern in our community, not so much because of sentiment among certain industrial and commercial leaders, but more because of the expression of groups of *young people*. Unfortunately, so many of our so-called society class have taken the stand that the use of liquor denotes culture, intelligence and "class," that a good many young people who have social ambitions lean that way without giving the matter much thought. We find very frequently that sons and daughters of some of our most straight-laced and respectable citizens laugh at the convictions of their fathers.

The same, with a second added, is put by a steel-plant vice-president:

I am convinced that employers recognize the benefits of prohibition to workers and to industry, and that their change of opinion toward prohibition as a whole is largely due to the effect that prohibition has had (1) on the youth in particular and (2) on the so-called *white-collared group* generally. I know personally a number of formerly radical prohibitionists who are now willing to have some sort of modification or even repeal because of the effect on their own children. So far as the so-called white-collared classes are concerned, I think the effect of prohibition is well illustrated by this fact: Before prohibition I was never offered liquor in any form in a private home. Now one rarely enters a private home without being offered alcohol in some form, and I notice that the variety and quantity of the householder's supply is a matter of pride to him.

How closely the third reason—corruption and un-enforcement—is connected with the bad influence on youthful morals and adult law-flouting is shown by this one:

The curse of prohibition, to my mind, is that it has created

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and will inevitably increase if it continues, an appalling *disrespect for law* and, second, an unbelievably widespread complacency in the *corruption* of public officials. This strikes plumb at the heart of our institutions and the character of the nation itself. Almost nothing is worth this price. I have almost reached the point where I question whether even the abolition of the saloon is worth it.

There were, of course, those who reported seeing no shift. There were others, also, who reported that "The youngsters seem to be doing much less drinking than formerly; it appears still both smart and smart-Alecky to drink, but no longer so to drink to excess." Another observes that "The white-collared groups appear to be drinking less and less as their incomes are reduced. Liquor today is evidently considered a luxury and only those today in a position to purchase luxuries are using it."

On the whole, however, this group does give plain evidence of that lessened popularity which mainly called for this study.

NOW I am trying to do a job not of exhorting but of reporting. Nevertheless, I can't forbear, Greek Chorus-like, to make these three points:

1. That the shift is explained as caused by prohibition's effects on not the worker but the non-worker, the white-collared group.

2. That the report given by these observers as to good conditions on the industrial sector appears based on decidedly closer contact and surer evidence—appears decidedly more authoritative—than does the testimony of these same observers as to the bad conditions among the country's youth and other non-worker groups. All the more so, considering that their observation as to the youth, for instance, is only slightly if at all supported by the observation of educational officers who enjoy the same authoritative contact with young people that these industrialists do with work-people. (Incidentally, I understand that the British youth of today is giving his—and her—elders plenty of cause for worry in the same moral areas as here, with the causes, however, restricted in that land of open bars to such post-War developments as the demise of the old conventions, authorities and controls, along with the rise of new concepts of individual self-determination, particularly among the young women.)

3. That, for some reason, nearly everybody registers much less coolness—much more emotionalism—in his judgment of the behavior of youth than in his judgment of the doings of anybody else.

"Conditions here among the young people since prohibition are terrible!" so a policeman assured me recently in a mid-Illinois college town. "Girls from the very best families of the state are being found drunk—regularly—in the cemeteries and where not!"

His testimony, much as I might regret it, appeared to demand extremely serious acceptance—until he added: "W'y, even the college here has lately gone simply to the devil. I jes' don't know what we're comin' to. Believe it or not, they opened up, only last week, a room—I'm givin' you the straight dope, y'understand?—where boys and girls, right durin' college hours, can *smoke cigarettes together!*"

One nationally known manufacturer probably explains a good deal of this hyper-emotional judgment in this whole sector of youthful and general white-collar drinking when he thus gives his idea of the changed opinion:

I think the reason for this shift with the plant "super" and such, is that each year dims pre-prohibition conditions in his memory. At the same time, each year adds to the unremitting, cumulative social pressure on his opinions exerted by the opinions of this super's boss and bosses—I mean the general manager, the financial head, the sales manager and such. He could resist this in its early stages by calling on the help of his acute appreciation of the difference in conditions in his factory. But not only did this acuteness diminish as time passed, but the all-powerful effects of the repeated insistence of his social and official superiors was sure to have its inevitable results. Add to this the fact that fourteen years have brought in nearly half a generation of new supervisors and executives who are not old enough to have seen the effects of the saloon on workers, and the change in their point of view is largely accounted for.

Where from Here?

"WHERE should we go from here?—straight ahead, back-track or detour?" What do my industrial friends reply to that?

Alas, to generalize on their answers is all but impossible. They reflect practically every one of the multitudinous ideas now to be encountered among the general American public. I say "ideas" because they reflect also the general public hesitancy to define any specified plan or program to follow through clear to the desired end. The majority, that is, along with proposals of "light wines and beer," "the Canadian" or "the Swedish plan," feel unable to give preciser details than:

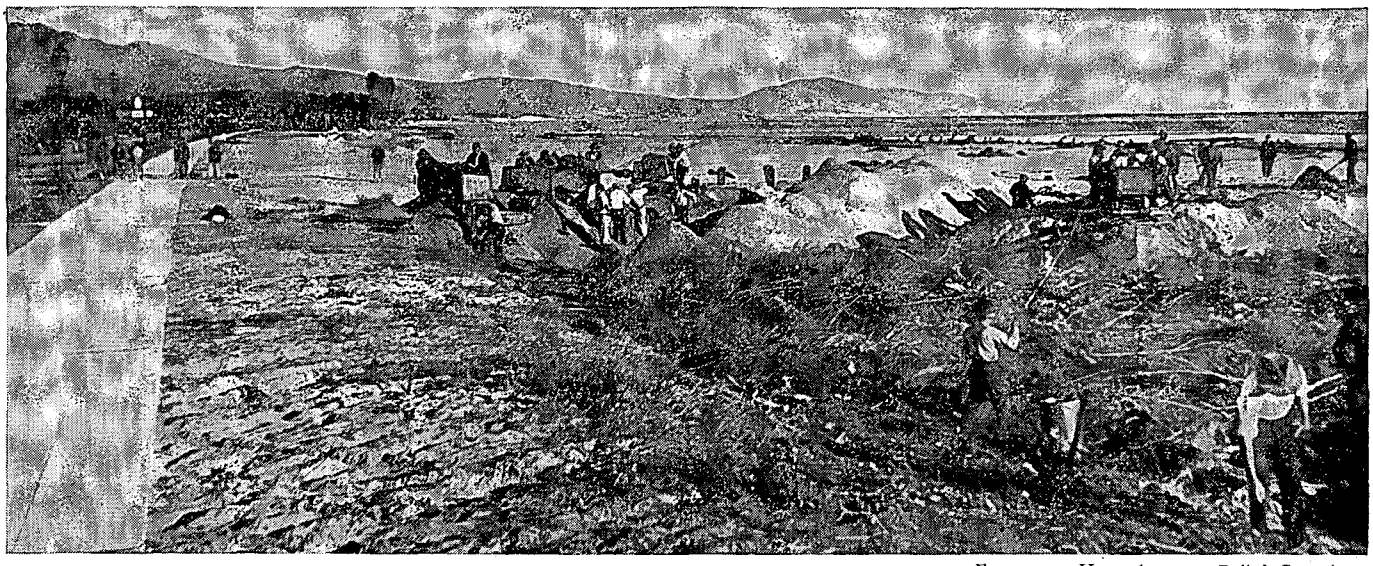
> Some sort of licensing arrangement regulating as far as possible the distribution of intoxicants and then pricing them so that they are an expensive luxury.
>
> Government control of both the manufacture and sale, with a good substantial tax. Then deal ruthlessly with the illicit manufacturer or dispenser.
>
> Repeal the Eighteenth Amendment and after that allow the sale of liquor under federal or state authority, properly supervised to prevent the reestablishment of the old saloon or anything like it.
>
> I question leaving it to state control unless the federal government would lend its assistance to states voting dry. In that case we would have some states practically dry and others wet by choice, and the people would have opportunity to observe and select between the two policies.
>
> I think the time has arrived when, instead of prohibiting the use of intoxicating liquor, it should be made available at cost, plus a tightly controlled tax—with everything possible done to prevent private profit, and to take away every financial incentive to promote sale.

Practically all consider it of the utmost importance to keep out that ancient if not honorable institution known as the saloon. Only one, an employment manager, goes so far as to suggest, "Repeal the Amendment and if no better way can be found, reopen the saloon."

At the same time, a number, though a minority, express the belief that "The prohibition law is perfectly practicable *if* the sentiment of the people can be aroused in favor of enforcement."

Altogether, it's no wonder that one internationally known capitalist who has long been in favor of the law confesses himself as "quite at sea" as to the next step. No wonder, also, that the (quite dry) Big Business head who has just above stressed our failing memories of pre-Volstead evils expresses very seriously his belief that: "The only solution, accordingly, is either to strengthen the ability of the enforcement officers, or if that is (*Continued on page* 242)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee

"Unemployed" men converting an unsightly beach into acres of playground at Santa Barbara, California

The West IS Different

The Coast and the Inland Empire Tackle Unemployment Relief in New Ways

By JOANNA C. COLCORD

"YES, we're getting relief to the people—but I wonder if we've made a big mistake."

The Red Cross worker, a county representative in Oregon, looked across the desk with anxious eyes. "We do the best we can—there are just five of us, and this county has forty-six hundred square miles and fifty-five thousand people."

She caught my change of expression. "It is a lot of country to cover, isn't it? It reaches from the Sierras to the sea. Perhaps we shouldn't have undertaken the job. But the Governor's Committee was organizing, and when we were asked to handle all the county's relief funds—well, there just wasn't any one else to do it. We five were the only trained social workers in the county. And now one family in every five is on relief. And I just don't know . . ."

"But how do you handle it?" I prodded gently, picturing to myself how this little group had been torn from its quiet "peace-time" program and flung headlong into the war against unemployment.

"Oh, just the best we can. The girl who has the foot-hills territory had a hard time last winter. The snow was so deep that she couldn't use her car, and had to make it on snowshoes. But we manage to keep in touch with the families week by week, and to adjust relief to the needs. Of course when somebody kills a deer or gets a big catch of fish, we don't have to provide quite so much for a while. We arrange for seed and for garden plots, and when we know a farmer has potatoes to be dug, we get him to take one of our men and to pay him in produce. There are lots of adjustments you can make in rural districts; it's easy to know all the resources and find out all that is going on. And our volunteer committees are a great help."

"You have volunteer committees?"

"Oh yes, there are ninety-six separate communities in the county, and we have every one of them organized. They understand the job now, and we can rely on them for backing and for real help."

"Was there anything like this before you took hold?"

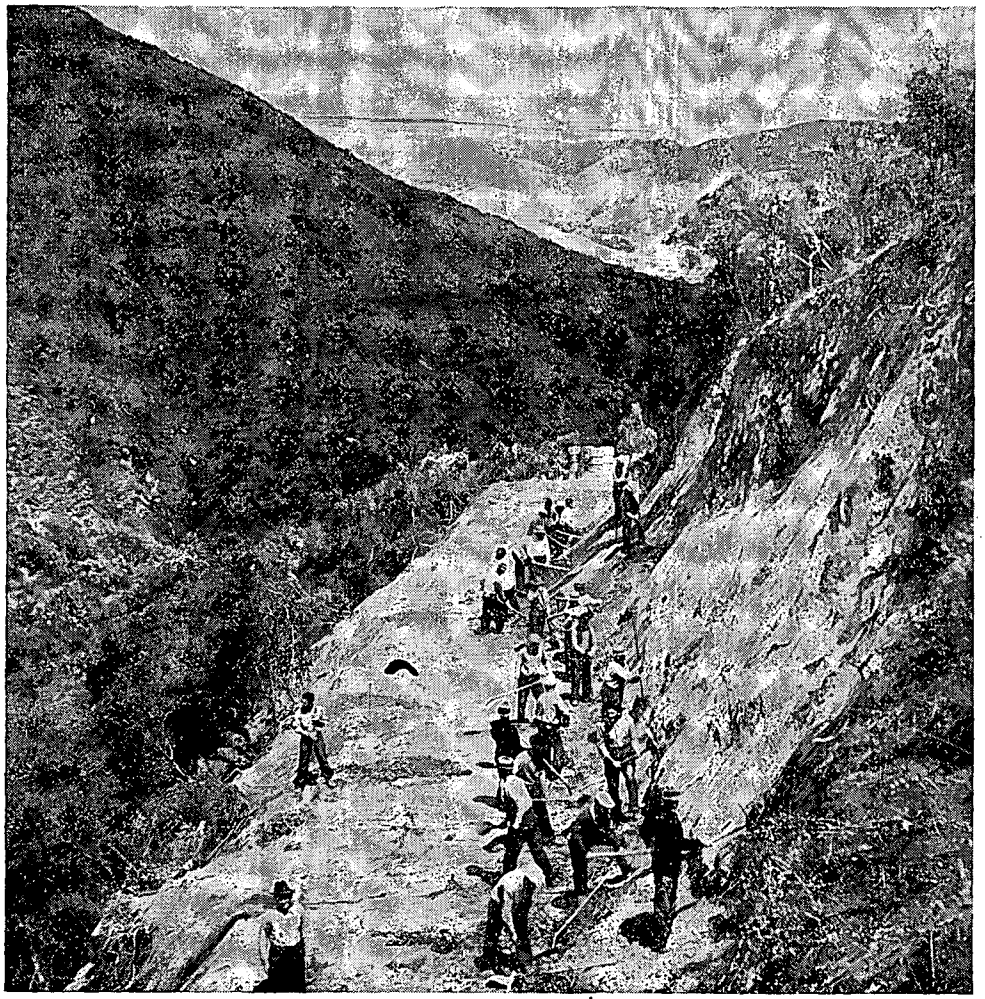
"No, we had to find the people and build up the committees—it was the only way the job could have been put through. But as for case-work standards, they have had to go by the board—and that's what is worrying me. We just don't have time for case work."

I felt my eyes popping and heard awe in my own voice, "Woman alive, don't you realize what an epic you've been telling me? You may not be doing case work, but what a whale of a community job you've done!"

Perhaps the West was always more community-minded than the East. Perhaps it has more imagination in meeting unprecedented situations. Perhaps the year of warning—for the depression did not strike the West Coast till the winter of 1930-31—gave it more time for preparation. Take Spokane. Spokane is the trade center of "the Inland Empire." This phrase, as simply used, and as common on every tongue as "the Metropolitan area" on the lips of New Yorkers, denotes a vast basin comprising parts of three states and a slice of Canada. Much itinerant labor has gone into the mines, lumber camps and farms which contribute to Spokane's income; and in off-seasons, these workers have been accustomed to wander back to the city.

Last winter, the need for a better program for the care of homeless men was apparent in Spokane, and the Coordination Bureau, a central committee on which are represented the city and county authorities together with leading citizens, took over an abandoned brewery, rechristened it the East

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Permanent improvements by men from the camps operated by the Department of Charities of Los Angeles County, California, and, opposite page, life in such camps

Trent Billet, installed plumbing, a fumigation plant, and cooking equipment, and built bunks to care for a thousand men. A man who could show that he had worked anywhere in the Inland Empire was assured a place to stay for the winter. About thirteen hundred of these men passed through the shelter from November to March, with a daily population averaging nine hundred. About a third of the men are employed doing the cooking and cleaning, and splitting wood for fuel. The more able-bodied are divided into two gangs, one of which goes out each day to work in the parks. Transportation is furnished free by the local street railway, which backs up several cars morning and evening on the brewery siding.

In return, the men get a bunk which is theirs for the period of their stay, with mattress, blankets and canvas tarpaulin, and three hearty meals a day. On the day I visited the Billet the men had pancakes—eleven apiece—with molasses and coffee for breakfast, roast meat, two vegetables, bread and applesauce for dinner, and curried rice, squash, bread and tea for supper. Apples are distributed once or twice a week between meals. The food cost, in that region of cheap and abundant food, is only about seventeen cents per man per day. The cost of the project is split three ways between the county, the city and the private funds of the Coordination Bureau.

No wages are paid, but tobacco, soap, towels, and clothing as needed, are issued to the men. There is a sick-bay for minor illnesses, with daily medical inspection, and more serious illnesses are removed to the county hospital for treatment.

In contrast to the care offered as a matter of right to those who can prove Inland Empire connections, is the treatment given drifters with no such claim. They are allowed to sleep on the floor one night with newspapers for bedding, given two meals, and sent on their way. Spokane is clear in its own mind as to the distinction between the two groups.

Down in California they cannot be quite so cheerfully casual about the drifter, however, because when he gets there, there is no place to send him but back. During last October and November, homeless and penniless men and boys were coming into the state at the rate of twelve hundred a day. The policy of the railroads seems to be to prevent homeless men from "ganging up" at any one spot. I was told that when too many collected at one railroad center east of California, flatcars would be loaded up, brought across the state line and "dumped." The Governor's Committee in November suggested the establishment of labor camps, the Legislature appropriated $100,000 to finance them, and on December 3 the first of twenty-seven such camps was opened, which have taken care of upwards of three thousand men.

The camps are under the management of the State Forestry Department. The men are sheltered in tents, and are given three meals a day and tobacco and clothing, but earn no money. They do six hours' work a day, including travel-time to and from work, in such jobs as brushing out trails, building roads and fire-breaks, and destroying insect pests. No compulsion is exercised about either going to camp or staying there, so that such men as volunteer for the work do so because they prefer it to aimless, footsore wandering about the country. The rumor that the camps were to be opened served also, it is believed, to lessen the immigration into the state of men who did not wish to work.

So successful was the state project that a number of counties in southern California have established similar camps for single men who are county residents. The county forestry service furnishes equipment and supervision. In a Los Angeles county camp which I visited, the ranger in charge was emphatic in his praise of the willingness and handiness of the men assigned him. Minor problems of discipline he left to the men themselves to be dealt with by "kangaroo court." A sick tent was in charge of a man with experience as a hospital orderly; a recreation tent was equipped with games, magazines and a radio. Forty-odd young chaps who would otherwise have been hanging about the street corners, were bronzed and healthy with outdoor work.

Work relief has been largely employed on the Coast, great

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

projects being financed by public funds. There has been little or no attempt to choose workers on the basis of their need, proof that they were citizens, and unemployed at the time of application, being the main consideration. Men have been put to work in the order of their application, working one week and then being laid off till their turn came around again. In one city, with such a "revolving list" of fifteen thousand men, each man earned $24 once in six weeks, and less than a thousand of them had applied anywhere for supplementary relief, indicating of course "that they had more resources than met the naked eye." Such a program means that large sums are quickly expended, in such a manner as to give no adequate relief to any one, and upon a group which has by no means met the same tests as applicants for other forms of relief in the same city. It is interesting to consider the experience of Santa Barbara in this connection.

The work and play of camp life have brought about marked improvement in mental outlook and physical condition—The noon-time rest hour

During 1930-31, a citizen's committee started an employment agency, and developed in connection with it a work-relief program of the indiscriminate sort outlined above. Last fall, the committee's work was reorganized, and an experienced social worker brought in as its executive. Social investigations of the men employed at intervals on the work-relief project reduced the list by 63 per cent! The remaining 37 per cent were given work every week instead of once in seven weeks, and the number of days per week adjusted to the number of dependents.

The inclusion of the "character-building agencies" in the Chests is proving a troublesome question in the West. In one city, the Council of Social Agencies has cleared through the Confidential Exchange the names of all children and young people dealt with by this group, in the endeavor to learn whether they are actually coming in contact with the unemployed. The factual material which this study produces, according as it turns out, will enable the Chest to defend their inclusion, or else put strongly up to these agencies the necessity of adapting their program to the needs of the times. A suggestion as to how this might be accomplished comes from the state of Utah, interned behind its mountains, not rich either in wealth or in numbers of its population, but able to try a new and timely experiment.

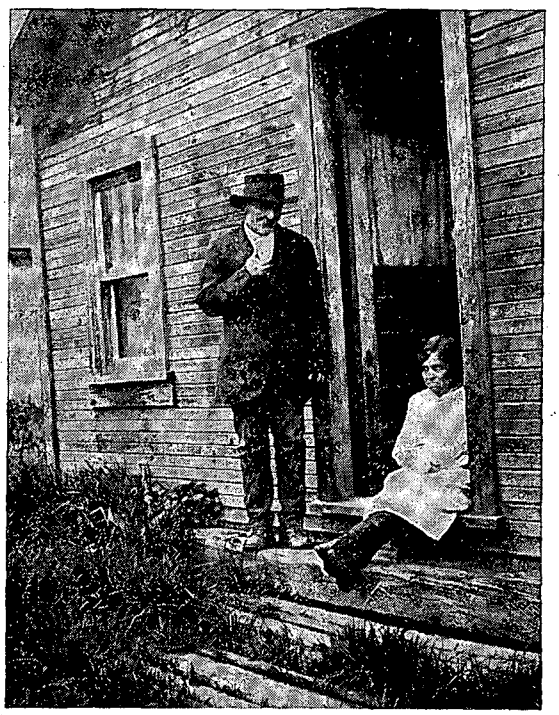
Unavoidable accidents and illness are given competent first-aid in the camp hospital tent—Regular work and good food keep the men fit

As part of a drive to reduce governmental expenses, the school system of Utah was under severe fire last year. At the suggestion of a group of women interested in education, the state superintendent of instruction developed a plan of classes in adult education throughout the state, directed particularly to the needs of the unemployed. Outlines were prepared and made available through the State Department of Education, and the teachers, who volunteered their time for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the project, acted as discussion leaders. Each group chose its subject, most of them electing cultural courses or programs of community entertainment, though a few vocational courses, in farm accounting, for example, were organized. Thirty-seven school districts have participated in the plan, and it is estimated that over ten thousand persons have been enroled during the school year now in progress. The plan, called in Utah Educational Relief, has linked the public school system into the effort to ameliorate unemployment, and has demonstrated to thousands of voters and citizens that it has something of value to offer them as well as their children.

All up and down the Coast I found food conservation a very live issue. The dumping and destruction of "seconds" has been a common trade practice for years; and in the recent years of depression, when it has been unprofitable to market produce, much good food has gone to waste. A wholly new argument appears in such communities for the commissary, or central food warehouse.



Mary H. Annin, Red Cross, Lane County, Ore., sends pictures of inland families and writes:

In Los Angeles, such a warehouse is in operation for the relief agencies of the Community Chest. Fruits and vegetables are donated, literally by carloads, from the surrounding valleys, picked over and packaged by homeless men from a neighboring mission, and dispensed together with other foodstuffs bought at a cost of about $20,000 a month, to clients of the agencies on the latter's order. Deliveries are made to some extent, but most clients present the orders in person.

A similar proposal was recently under discussion in Portland, Oregon; and was opposed by the social agencies. The line of argument they offered is interesting and suggestive. They pointed out that the food to be saved from waste was for the most part the "trimmings" of a dietary—fruit and green vegetables—and that the starches, proteins and fats would have to be purchased if balanced rations were to be issued. They reminded the proponents of the plan that there would be surely some waste connected with the purchase in bulk of these more expensive items by a group unfamiliar with marketing. They also pointed out that no arrangements were contemplated for delivery, and announced themselves as unalterably opposed to any plan that meant the assembling of the poor in a public manner, to receive gifts of food.

"The local committee's work-program brings this family through although the father has been out of work all winter"

They then raised the question of interference with the processes of retail trade, and described the plight of the grocer who has carried his customers for long periods on credit, only to see them taken away when he might hope to recover a little profit from their orders.

The social workers accompanied their statement by a request to be allowed to confer with representatives of the retail grocers before further steps were taken. They emerged from this conference with revised food orders, and the prices "shaded" 10 per cent by the dealers. As a consequence, the commissary idea was laid on the table, at least for the time being.

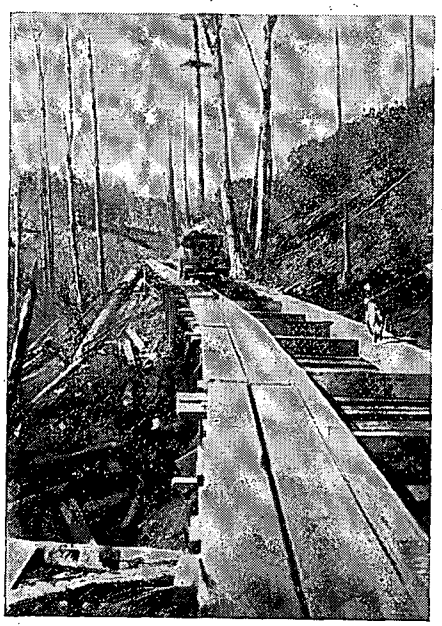
The opposition of social workers to the commissary on the ground of its exploiting misery in a public manner gets something of a jolt, however, when it becomes apparent that the unemployed themselves adopt this device freely when the decision is theirs to make. In Seattle, where there is taking place an outstanding experiment in cooperation between government, social agencies, and the organized unemployed, there are twenty-two of these commissaries run by the Unemployed Citizens' League and grouped around five central depots maintained by the Mayor's Commission with funds appropriated by the County Commissioners.

The history and development of this movement has already been told in The Survey (March 15, p. 665). But some points most interesting to social workers were not covered. Before the Mayor's Commission entered the picture, the relief committees attached to the League's commissaries had discovered that helpful information could be secured from the district offices of the family welfare society, and informal consultations back and forth were frequent. In some cases, the League recognized problems other than relief which it was not equipped to handle, and referred them to the social agencies. When the county began to subsidize the program, and the stipulation was made that recipients of relief must be registered in the Confidential Exchange, it was the ex-clients of the social agencies who brought common sense into the heated discussions at the League's locals, asserting that it was no disgrace to have your name in the Exchange, and that it did not involve "fingerprinting" or "inquisitions."

The clearing of names

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

disclosed some instances of persons getting relief from both the League and the Chest agencies. This was a shock to the leaders of the League, who were sincerely trying to play fair with the Mayor's Commission and the county authorities. As a result "home visitors" were appointed in each local, a simple handbook of investigation called the "measuring - stick" was supplied them by the Mayor's Commission, and an informal institute of home visitors and relief committee members of the League was arranged, at which they met weekly with some of the social workers and discussed their problems.



"Plank roads are really quite smooth driving—until you meet another car"

A visit to several of the local commissaries was to me a thrilling experience. Here were busy shops, with systematized methods, all the work of dispensing food orders being carried on by members whose only compensation was their own food orders. All premises had been secured rent free, but telephone service, electric light, and gas were supplied by the Mayor's Commission. Tailor-shops, barber-shops, cobbler shops, with borrowed machinery, gave employment to members skilled in those trades, and kept the rest of the membership neat and presentable when seeking work.

A dispensary, run by an unemployed pharmacist, was kept stocked with simple drugs and household remedies by the wholesale drug dealers. Cars and trucks owned by the members, and used by the League, were kept in repair at a garage run by members who were auto mechanics. Stovewood cut and brought in by gangs organized by each local was tiered beside sacks of coal which the miner members brought in from two abandoned coal mines outside the city. When I left, a plan was under way to take over a closed bakery, its machinery still in place, and to make bread for the commissaries from wheat which farmers contributed and millers ground free of charge.

Not all the members are receiving food orders—indeed, not all are unemployed. The League hopes to hold its members even if they secure work, through its educational program developed under the Labor College of Seattle. The only rules enforced are that each member must stand ready to contribute regular service in whatever department assigned (many give practically full time) and that everyone must attend the weekly meeting of his local.

It will be a long day before my impression of that afternoon spent at the locals is dimmed. Here were people on the last perilous edge, their clothing showing wear and their faces the marks of suffering; yet cheerful, busy, proud of what they had accomplished, wresting for themselves and their fellows a temporary security in the midst of insecurity, and doing it with courage and enterprise. The testimony of those outside the movement who had followed it closely was that a remarkable degree of leadership and executive ability had been developed within it. One cannot but feel that the common stock of humanity is being raised by what has happened in Seattle.

THE depression was not felt on the Coast till the winter of 1930-31. As they come to the end of their second winter, most of the cities I visited are wondering how funds can be found to carry on through the summer and another winter, if that be the grim necessity. Some of the enterprises described will have to close down before summer for lack of funds. Cities and counties which sold large bond issues for work-relief projects, and spent them rapidly, are in many cases not proposing to follow this perilous path further. In Southern California, the development of large public works projects is expected to serve the purpose of work relief. All up and down the Coast the five-day week and the six-hour day are being put into effect by some employers and being discussed either favorably or without serious opposition by others. The first routine run of relief funds has been exhausted, but no extraordinary efforts have had to be made as yet to discover or raise new supplies. State aid is only in the discussion stage; Federal aid hardly that.

Anaheim, a town of eleven thousand in the citrus belt, had expended all its available funds. Under a plan proposed by one of its citizens, it proceeded to put unemployed heads of families to work paying them in scrip of the denomination of one dollar, which was issued by the town treasurer. The majority of the merchants in the town had previously agreed to accept the scrip at face value, and in accepting it, to paste on the back a stamp worth four cents, which they purchased from the town treasurer. They then used the scrip to discharge their own obligations within the limits of the town, and each person accepting it as payment placed another four-cent stamp on the back until the scrip bore twenty-five such stamps, when it was of course worth a real dollar, and could be redeemed at the office of the town treasurer. The "Anaheim plan" has been in successful operation for several months, and is being adopted by several neighboring communities.

"This is one of our families far back in the hills. The county has forty-six hundred square miles"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rock-Bottom Responsibility

By ROBERT F. WAGNER

IT has been only since the full force of the present depression struck our country that we have come to see how unprepared we were to deal with its ravages. No reserves had been laid aside to care for prolonged, involuntary unemployment. As soon as the modest resources of great multitudes were exhausted, they were compelled to turn to public and private charity. Statistics gathered by the Russell Sage Foundation show that the amount of non-pension relief increased 449 per cent between the first half of 1929 and the first half of 1931. In eighty-one cities having a total population of more than thirty-six million, the sum of $132,000,000 was spent for relief during the twelve months of 1931.

Yet charity, whether public or private, should be the last resort and not the first choice in dealing with the economic problem of the wage-earners for whom we fail to supply work. Such charity calls for greater voluntary contributions and for higher taxation at the very time when incomes and values are reduced. The consequences confront us on every hand in terms of inadequate relief in spite of the extraordinary efforts of private citizens, states and municipalities. They comfort us in destitution, malnutrition, and spiritual deterioration.

Is there a better way? Can we by adequate preparation preserve the people of the United States against the suffering attendant upon widespread unemployment?

With that question we come to the rock bottom of social responsibility for unemployment. Men are thrown out of work through no fault of their own. It is not the men who walk the streets in search of work who create the industrial system of which unemployment is a part. The obligation rests upon society to make sure that they shall not go cold or hungry. The alternative is between charity and insurance; and I have no hesitation in making my choice in favor of insurance.

Compulsory insurance against unemployment under state auspices dates from the passage of the British insurance act in 1911. Eight years later, Italy adopted a system and was followed by Austria, Bulgaria, Germany, Luxemburg, Poland, Russia and Queensland. Eight countries—Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Netherlands, Norway and Spain—have voluntary systems. In Switzerland in some of the cantons insurance is compulsory, in others voluntary. Upon the establishment of the Irish Free State the compulsory system was continued. In all of these countries the insurance systems, even where privately organized, are encouraged by the state. In all, except Austria, Germany and Italy, the state contributes part of the premium costs. At the present time approximately 37,500,000 workers are so protected of whom 34,673,000 workers (exclusive of Russia) are protected by compulsory insurance.

Many of these systems have encountered serious financial difficulties. They were not organized to cope with periods of unemployment so prolonged and widespread as this one. They were intended to cover such risks as occur in the normal routine of industrial activity. To draw an analogy, it was not at all surprising to find that companies organized to deal in fire insurance found it difficult to meet the losses that arose out of the San Francisco conflagration of 1904. It should be noted, nevertheless, that both in the Irish Free State and in Italy the unemployment insurance systems have accumulated substantial surpluses despite three years of depression.

The British System

THE original actuarial calculations behind the British system rested on experience showing the average unemployment in the insured trades over a period of years up to 1919 to have been 5.32 per cent. In 1921 began a decade of chronic unemployment unrelieved by any sustained period of prosperity, in which that average has been over 13 per cent. Obviously enough the system was inadequate to meet the demands of a doubled load. That, however, was but one of the difficulties. Great Britain lived in constant expectation that abatement of the depression was near at hand. Consequently it was not generally felt that there was need for a radical change in the accepted view that the country was dealing with a temporary emergency. Modifications intended for short periods were frequently made in the insurance setup. "Uncovenanted," "extended" and "transitional" benefits were introduced. These benefits shared the characteristics of both insurance and relief. Nonetheless the British insurance fund in 1924 actually operated at a profit of $45,000,000.

The sturdiness of the system was further revealed by the fact that in the face of further liberalizations as to scale of benefits and further relaxations in the conditions for qualifying for them, depite also the devastating effect of the coal strike and general strike of 1926, the fund in twenty years accumulated an indebtedness of only $200,000,000. This (March 1930) was on the

The junior senator from New York has been responsible for the outstanding series of measures at Washington dealing with unemployment. Here he gives the heart of those "individual views" which he has filed as minority member of the Select Committee of the U. S. Senate appointed last summer [Senate Report No. 629] to investigate the subject of unemployment insurance. It was a striking fact that no one who appeared before its hearings dissented from the proposition that some form of insurance or reserve must be established. If, as newspaper interviews indicate, the majority members should in the final report subscribe to compulsory insurance, it will be a way-mark of the hard times.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eve of the present acute depression. Since then the debt has steadily mounted until it reached $500,000,000 by September 1931. During the past six months, it has remained approximately static because of an increase in premium rates and a reduction in the rate of benefits paid.

Certain factors, however, must be taken into consideration in measuring that debt. First, almost half of the amount ($225,000,000) represents the cost of administering for over twenty years an elaborate system of labor exchanges, an interest charge of over $50,000,000 for funds borrowed from the government, and all other overhead of the insurance system. Second, it is a fair inference that a very large proportion of the debt represents not the cost of the insurance but of the pure relief which was dispensed through the insurance mechanism. Careful calculation has shown that the entire amount of the debt would be repaid by the normal operation of the insurance fund within five years if the rate of unemployment fell to an average of 10 per cent.

The British insurance can not therefore truthfully be called a "dole." Evidence in our hearings revealed that 82.5 per cent of all the benefit payments during the life of the system were supplied from premium receipts and that only 17.5 per cent comprised extraordinary appropriations and loans. The so-called dole originally consisted of a free gift, paid not out of insurance funds but entirely out of state funds to ex-service men and civilians for a period of twelve months during 1919 and 1920 to meet the special emergency of the transfer from war to peace conditions.

The German System

THE German insurance system came into effect at the very moment when the problem of unemployment was reaching extraordinary dimensions in 1927 at a time when 1,470,000 workers, more than 9 per cent of those insured, were unemployed. Within a year the average number out of work increased to 1,658,000, grew in 1929 to 2,019,000 and in 1930 to 3,483,000. During 1931 the average number of unemployed surpassed four and one half million. Thus in Germany too the problem of unprecedented unemployment placed an unforeseen burden upon the insurance fund which was met in part by borrowing from the government which aggregated during the first twenty-nine months $148,274,000. These loans have since been canceled. Premiums have been increased from a total of 3 per cent of standard wages to 6½ per cent.

A total of $1,500,000,000 was paid out in Germany from October 1927 to March 31, 1931 for all forms of unemployment relief. The noteworthy fact is that more than 57 per cent of this sum of $858,000,000 had its origin in the premiums paid by employers and employes. The balance of $642,000,000 represented the entire outlay of the German federal government, the state governments and local communities for all forms of emergency relief expenditures including even local poor relief. During the year 1931 the insurance fund alone supported an average of close to two million workers.

It is difficult to make comparisons between conditions in Great Britain, Germany and the United States. An examination of the facts leads to the conclusion that many of the evil consequences of unemployment which have been evident in the United States have for the most part been avoided in those countries and at a relative cost not in excess of that incurred in the United States.

The European experience with unemployment insurance has admittedly revealed serious weaknesses. It is all the more significant to note that the European public, both employers and employes, accept unemployment insurance as an essential part of the prevailing economic organization. The reports of U. S. consular representatives prepared at the request of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and submitted to our committee showed that where compulsory systems are now in existence such objections as are evident are directed toward details of administration and not against the principle.

Senator Wagner's Nine Points

1. The evil consequences of unemployment can and should be mitigated by the establishment of unemployment insurance or wage reserves.
2. Unemployment insurance or wage reserves, to be successful, should be inaugurated under compulsory state legislation and be supervised by state authority.
3. The federal government should encourage state action by (a) cooperating with the states in the establishment of a nation-wide employment service [S. 2687], and (b) by allowing employers to deduct from income tax a portion of their payments into unemployment reserves [amending the Revenue Act of 1928].
4. Every system of unemployment insurance or reserves should be organized to provide incentives to the stabilization of employment.
5. The insurance or wage reserve system should be built on a plan financially and actuarially sound so that the premiums paid into the fund shall be sufficient to meet the obligations of the fund.
6. Compulsory unemployment insurance eliminates the competitive advantage of the employer who refuses to recognize his business responsibility for unemployment.
7. Compulsory unemployment insurance preserves the mobility of the worker and his freedom of action in attempting to improve his economic position.
8. Unemployment insurance will beneficially affect not only the workers but agriculture, industry and trade; all alike profit from sustained purchasing power.
9. Sound business and good conscience both command us, in dealing with unemployment, to abandon the methods of poor relief with its ballyhoo, its inadequacy, inequality and uncertainty, which are a drain on the sympathy of the giver and a strain on the character of the taker. Let us, like civilized men and women, organize intelligently to prepare today for the exigencies of the future.

American Experience and Proposals

PROVISION against unemployment is no new phenomenon in the United States. One trade union, the Deutsch-Amerikanische Typographia, has had an unemployment benefit system since 1884. In April 1931 forty-eight trade-union benefit plans were in operation. In addition, fifteen companies had established reserve funds. There were also sixteen joint-agreement plans set up mutually by trade-unions and employers. Altogether there were seventy-nine plans in operation, covering approximately 160,000 workers or approximately one half of 1 per cent of the wage-earners of the country. About 65,000, or 40 per cent of these workers, were insured under union-employer agreements, of which that in the men's clothing industry is outstanding. Indeed the largest single group among the sixty-five thousand employes insured under joint agreements were members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT PLANS IN THE UNITED STATES 1928 AND 1931 (APRIL)

Type of plan	Number of plans		Number of employes covered		Benefits paid	
	1928	1931	1928	1931	1928	1931
Trade-union						
Local	37	48	33,400	44,648	$264,000	$1,870,005
National	4	3	1,320	900	13,613	17,265
Union-employer	22	16	65,000	65,000	998,200	1,444,503
Employer	9	15	8,500	50,000	11,781	872,701

Since 1916 more than thirty bills dealing with compulsory unemployment insurance have been introduced in six state legislatures without any tangible result. Some of these provided for state systems in line with European experience with contributions to be made by employers, employes and the state; others—and here we come upon American variants—provided for separate insurance funds for each industry with contributions to be made by employers, employes and the separate company funds. This last is the system put forward in February by an interstate commission representing the states of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania which reported in favor of compulsory systems of unemployment reserves. It is also the system projected by the first and only state to have thus far enacted a compulory insurance law, Wisconsin (January 1932). The law goes into effect on July 1, 1933 unless employers of not less than 175,000 employes shall have sooner established voluntary systems of insurance.

The advocates of the so-called American plans declare that insurance on the basis of a state-wide pooling of premiums and risks puts unjustified burdens on the employer who gives steady employment to his workers. The premiums are pooled so as to take care of those who may become unemployed, and a company which employs its workers for twenty-six weeks a year will pay premiums into the unemployment insurance fund for only twenty-six weeks. Once the plant has shut down obviously no employment is given; and since premiums consist of a percentage of payroll, the absence of a payroll after the shutdown means than no premiums are paid. The result is similar, if a plant is accustomed to discharge one half of its employes during slack seasons. In contrast, the competitors of the irregularly operated plants may have reached the state where they can give their employes regular employment, an attainment realized only after an expenditure of funds and the application of great effort. Nevertheless, under a general pooling of premiums, these stabilized plants have to pay premiums for fifty-two weeks each year. In other words, the employer who regularizes would be penalized.

These considerations apply not only to individual concerns but to entire industries. If all premiums are pooled into a single insurance fund the industries which operate regularly have to bear the burden resulting from the irregularities in other industries. Experience in England is particularly germane in this connection for there the electrical manufacturing, amusement and distribution industries have had to pay a large part of the cost of the benefits paid to the irregularly employed workers in textiles, shipbuilding and coal.

The proponents of the American plans undertake to eliminate these alleged inequalities by providing for (1) insurance by industry, or (2) company funds.

Insurance by Industries and Companies

THE American Association for Labor Legislation has developed a plan for compulsory pooling of the unemployment risks of each major industry. All employers in the clothing industry, for example, would contribute to the same fund, thereby relieving both employers and employes of other more regularly operated industries from supporting idle clothing workers. The size of the necessary reserve fund and consequently the amount of the premiums would be directly determined by the degree of unemployment in the particular industry. Anything done to curtail unemployment in an industry would benefit employers in that line.

The advocates of the company-fund idea contend that insurance by industry has some of the same weaknesses as the all-inclusive insurance system and that the individual employer who succeeds in regularizing would be compelled to bear part of the burdens of his less progressive competitors. They contend, too, that any stimulus to regularization can be effective only if applied to the management of a given company.

Under the company-fund plan each employer bears his own and only his own risks. The plan in itself is exceedingly simple. It calls for the establishment of an unemployment-insurance fund for each employer and for the creation of a state agency for the necessary administration and supervision. Each fund is to be separately managed and administered. Contributions are to be made only by the employer.

Provision is made, however, for arrangements whereby employes, individually or collectively, may agree to make contributions for the purpose of securing additional unemployment benefits. The amount of contribution varies. The Wisconsin act provides for a premium equal to 2 per cent of wages paid. To stimulate the employer to regularize, he is relieved from making any payments once the fund has reached a predetermined size sufficient to cover reasonable needs in a given year. Thus the Wisconsin law provides that whenever the fund of a given establishment is equal to $75 for each employe on the payroll, further contributions cease. When the fund falls below this amount but is more than $55, contributions are to be 1 per cent of the payroll. Underlying this provision is the theory that it affords added incentive to the employer to regularize. If he has little unemployment in his plant the fund will reach the required size in a relatively short period. Thereafter he is relieved of making payments until the fund is impaired by unemployment benefits paid to his employes.

It will be noted that the company-reserve fund operates in just the reverse fashion from the all-inclusive insurance scheme. Whereas under the latter the employer who gives the most employment pays the most premiums, under the former the employer who gives sufficient employment so as not to impair his benefit fund pays no premiums at all. There can be little doubt that the company-fund idea bears more directly upon those sources from which the will and desire to stabilize must emanate than any other plan proposed for unemployment insurance.

Shall Insurance be Compulsory?

THE question whether unemployment insurance shall be voluntary or compulsory was the principal issue developed in the course of our hearings. Yet it is a question which does not present a real alternative. The experience here and abroad has already been cited. No extensive insurance has ever been established by the voluntary acquiescence of employers. To advocate insurance with sincerity is to advocate compulsory insurance.

Compulsory insurance does not mean that the states must operate the insurance system, (*Continued on page* 256)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Out From Confusion

By FRANKWOOD E. WILLIAMS, M.D.

WE are a product of our civilization. We have accepted that civilization and its philosophy as we accept the Brooklyn Bridge or as a child accepts the radio. It has not occurred to us seriously to challenge the principles of that civilization. We have recognized defects in our social organization and in our various professional ways have striven to correct those defects and to better what we have found. But, whether we have been aware of it or not, back of all our efforts have been these principles involving certain concepts of man, and the end towards which we have striven has been the more effective carrying out of these principles in fulfilment of men as conceived.

Our world is unsettled. What has gone wrong? We examine our methods and techniques. We talk about plans. We inquire of the economist, the sociologist, even of the psychologist and the psychiatrist. These cannot help us in any fundamental way. There has been nothing wrong with our methods and techniques. The specialist with his particularized knowledge and technique can be helpful now only as a mechanic. He will discover this and that and direct us how to repair. One cannot be sure that he will be able to put the machine together again but the best that he can do will be to recreate the machine and cause it to function once more. If he succeeds we may again be doing what we were doing only a few years ago.

But what were we doing? We were so busy getting somewhere and somewhere was so near—just around the corner—that it was impossible to see how pathetically inadequate we were even at the moments of our greatest successes. We were building a better society, on the basis of justice, duty, generosity, charity, derived from brotherly love. In place of asylums we built hospitals; for prisons we substituted reformatories and then better reformatories; for orphanages, homes; for rigid courts, courts with some semblance of a scientific approach to their problem; for old types of schools, new types of schools. We made carefully planned and scientific investigations and demonstrations. We sought out injustice and unfairness and devised now this law and now that to meet the situation. How busy and happy we were building a better society—better housing, better working conditions, improved standards of living. What prodigious effort in time, money and energy! What rejoicing at our successes! With what a glow of happiness and satisfaction we reported our progress to our boards and how sincerely did they congratulate us and rejoice with us for they knew what strength and earnestness had gone into our efforts. A child-guidance clinic in Philadelphia! But not only Philadelphia—Los Angeles, Cleveland, Minneapolis, most extraordinary of all New York City—but also Dallas, New Orleans, Pittsburgh; and a booklet full of the names of mental-hygiene clinics started all over the United States. Could there be any doubt of the success of our years of effort? But there is a joker in this.

A child-guidance clinic in New York City with its 1,500,000 school children. Why *a* clinic in Philadelphia, *a* clinic in Cleveland, *a* clinic in Minneapolis, *a* clinic in Los Angeles and the like? Does this seem at all strange to you? It did not seem strange at the time; it was beyond all expectation. It was what we called a "beginning."

BUT did it ever occur to you to consider why "beginning" must be made in this way? What is acknowledged as good for a few hundred children must be equally good for the thousands of children. Why not a dozen or more clinics in New York City? It is not because there is not need for them. Of course, we understand why—there is not enough money. But really? We have been given candy and a rubber ball to play with! And how quickly we have accepted them and what fun we have had bouncing our ball about!

Or did it ever occur to you to consider why there should be *even one* child-guidance clinic in New York City? Why one anywhere? Does it seem strange that there should be so many troubled and troublesome children? However, as you may not all be familiar with child-guidance clinics let us seek our illustrations elsewhere.

Does it seem strange to you that only after mighty effort was it possible to have gasoline which, at the time, was a drug on the market, clearly differentiated in the stores from kerosene, then much in use, even though many died horrible deaths from explosion as the result of mistakes? Does it seem strange to you that only after the most courageous fighting has it become possible to make public announcement of epidemics? That there must be a *contest* over the matter of pure food and pure drugs; a *contest,* as yet unwon, over the control of narcotics? That there must be contests over such matters as proper housing, child labor, a living wage, workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance? One can understand that much effort might go into the preparation of an adequate compensation or unemployment insurance law but once this effort had been ex-

In three recent articles in Survey Graphic (January, April and May) Dr. Williams has written from the viewpoint of a psychiatrist on the spiritual revolution of New Russia and its results in the mental health, education and wellbeing of that people. Here in an address given at the May meeting of the National Conference of Social Work in Philadelphia he turns the spotlight on our own current confusion and examines, as an American, the contrast between the ways in which our idealism has led us and those forecast by the realism on which the Russian experiment is based.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pended, does it seem to you strange, that even greater effort should be needed to have them adopted? These are complex problems, you say. Do you really think that they are fundamentally complex?

So much are we a part of our own civilization, so permeated are we with its fundamental philosophies, so well educated are we in its history that it does not seem strange to us that enormous effort should be necessary in order to obtain even simple, obvious things. The need to make effort seems as natural as the air we breathe. Why must there be effort? Because others oppose. But who opposes and why? Our effort must be expended in convincing, "educating" influential people who hold the keys to activity, business men, administrators, academies of medicine or of this or of that, legislators, governors. But is it a matter of education? Do they oppose on principle? Almost never; the desirability, even necessity, of these things is granted. Is it that these individuals have other social plans for meeting these situations and merely are not agreed as to ours? No; they have other plans but they are plans for themselves, far removed from the matter at hand. Our "education" consists in persuading them that our plan fits in with their personal plans. In other words, a problem is not solved readily and easily by reason of its own simplicity and obviousness as a child would think. For reasons a child would not yet understand this has no bearing; effort must first be expended in overcoming an opposition that is not in anyway connected with the matter. It seems strange and unreasonable and like a child we would ask, Why?

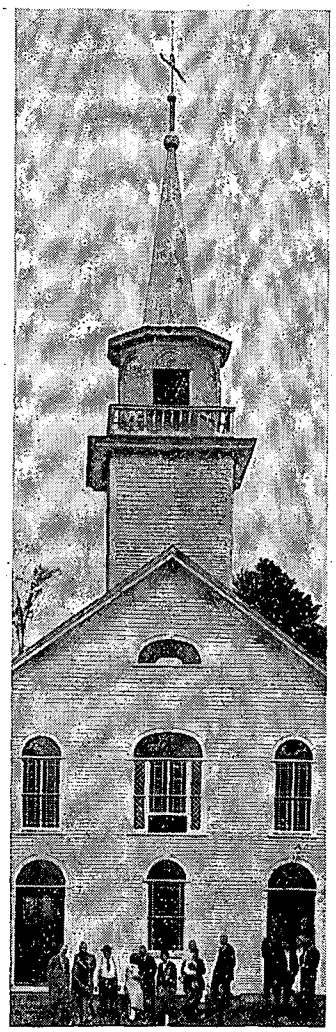


Photo by Ewing Galloway

Architecture also tells the story—Man, afraid, reaches out for help; or pathetically expresses his aspiration

The organizations represented in the National Conference of Social Work are concerned with some of the essential activities of social life—health, living and working conditions, education, child life, motherhood and the like. Does anyone except the members of the Conference *really* consider these things of *first* importance? We are praised, honored, patronized; there is lip service from every "good" citizen but are there any interests more important to these good citizens? Does even the president of any organization represented in the Conference *really* consider that the work of that organization is of *primary* social importance? Does any member of the executive board of one of these organizations, does any contributor? Do you not know that they do not? These men and women are "socially minded" people, as good as exist in the land, but they are also people with poise and judgment. But—do you yourself consider these things of first importance? Is there nothing more important to you? You are going somewhere also yourself, aren't you? And getting on? Or, if you are not, but have sunk yourself as a sacrifice into the contest, isn't it the same thing just turned upside down and aren't you a bit neurotic? Are we then all hypocrites? Not at all; it is not a question of hypocrisy.

Are the children of New York City and their education more important than Radio City? There is not one who would deny it but the denial is idle. The excellencies of the one and the defects of the other are true and representative products of our civilization and represent what we really think. Is the Harkness Memorial more important than housing? There is not one who would admit it but the things which the Harkness Memorial represent are considered more important than housing by our best and most "socially minded" people.

There came a time when charity which had been socially useful in the social period in which it arose became not only socially inadequate but a socially vicious influence as it tended to condone and to perpetuate unnecessary human ills. The organizations represented in the National Conference of Social Work have been socially useful during the social period through which they have functioned. It is possible, however, that they too may become a socially vicious influence as they continue to be an outlet for the "socially minded" with too good judgment. The social worker may come to occupy the place now held by the preacher—the professional tragedy of this generation. Unable to subscribe wholeheartedly to the tenets of his church he began his professional work twenty years ago with some misgivings, perhaps, but with a belief that in the church he could find social usefulness. Disillusionment came quickly in many instances and many conscientious men after suffering much pain left the church for other fields of activity. Others unable to release themselves for one reason or another have remained at their professional duties but without conviction and struggle as best they can with their unhappy lives. The present day social worker and the organizations he represents may follow the preacher and the church and social workers may come also to a painful searching of heart as they question whether they are rendering a service or a disservice.

IN these difficult times we are told that we should go to the temple; that we should get in touch with God. We do not need the temple. We do not need to get in touch with "God." We need to get in touch with each other. We need to confess our sins—not our sexual sins; how ridiculous, how silly, how unimportant these seem now—but our sins of aggression against each other. We need to search ourselves and to discover what is true of ourselves. We do not love each other. We must admit this. Until we do admit it there is no hope for us. When frankly we do admit it we shall, at least, be ready to make a beginning. Pure selfishness will bring from us a reasonable, even good-will attitude towards each other making it possible for us at least to work together for our joint interests. This is all that perhaps for the moment we should ask or expect. We are capable of honesty and good-will and perhaps more, but this more can come not through edict, but through working up from a right beginning. Thrown out on this ball in space, it would be well for us to take account of ourselves

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and our possessions and to organize ourselves as sensibly as we would were we a shipwrecked group on a desert island.

As man undertakes to reorganize his life on a realistic basis he will first consider his own tendency towards aggression. That man is an aggressive animal does not come to you with the force of a great revelation, I am sure. It has been too long known to you as one of many facts but when it becomes a reality for you, you may awake with a start as from a loud noise.

We are aggressive, we must be aggressive. No attempt should be made to minimize this. It must be openly acknowledged. Whatever we may wish in the end to accomplish must be planned for in the light of this fact. We must be free to be aggressive. The question is how to manage this aggression, how to turn it to social account. Unacknowledged or acknowledged only in the negative sense of "sin" and unworthiness, lack of goodness, meanness of spirit, selfishness, we are at once divided within ourselves, lose all possibility of integrated, unified activity, must act in any given situation with only a part of ourselves and that part at war with other parts. We must, therefore, act largely blind; objectivity is impossible. We can at no point trust our own acts or our own motives. Where we should be aggressive we find ourselves holding back as in fear. At other times we know or suspect that we are attempting to rationalize away our aggressions, covering things by fine names. We catch ourselves in dishonesties and deceitfulness. We do not know whether we are weak or strong, and if weak how to become strong, or if too "strong" how to check our aggression. We do not know whether we have a good character or a bad character nor whether what goodness or badness we find within ourselves is strength or weakness, or how to go about making such change as would seem desirable. We cannot trust ourselves, we cannot trust others whole-heartedly. We think we mean well but are not sure. We think we love others but we can doubt it. We wish to be loved by others but we cannot trust their love. Our very best seems sometimes only weakness and not to be trusted, our very worst is frightening. In either case we do not know what to do about it.

Aggression must be openly acknowledged. Men must be free to acknowledge their aggressive tendencies without sense of guilt or feeling of inferiority because of lack of goodness of character. It is not the tendency that is wrong but what the tendency is permitted to do. You say that this is our present philosophy. Not at all. Our present philosophy condemns and makes guilty the tendency itself; it condones the act. Not that it intends to, but by creating a sense of guilt over the feeling it succeeds not in changing the force of the tendency but merely its expression, causing that expression to become indirect instead of direct and so confusing us that we find ourselves accepting and condoning aggression under euphemisms. A realistic attitude will neither deny nor condemn the tendency but it will crush unreservedly any act no matter in what words it is described.

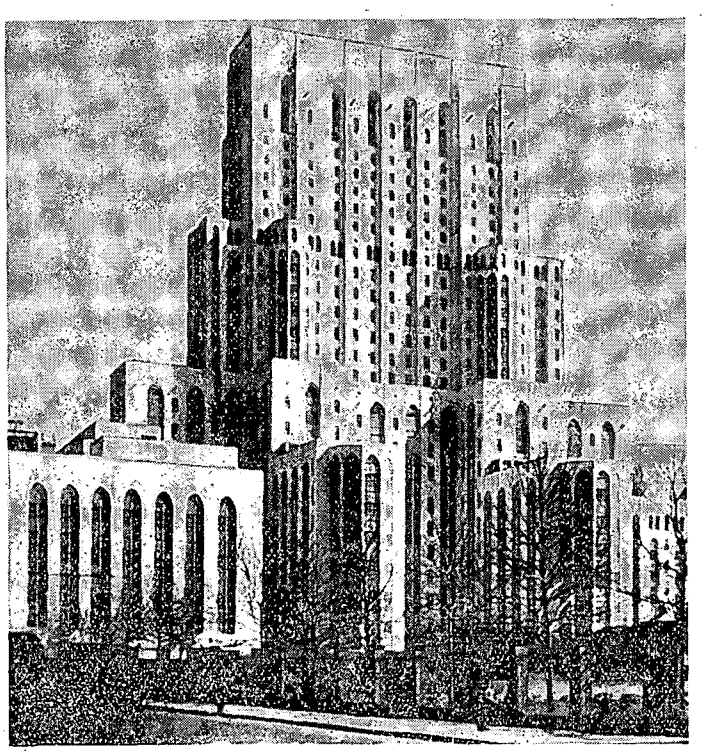
An individual free to acknowledge his aggression is in a position to act with some objectivity. Intellect has at least a chance to come into play and choice tends to become possible. I realize that the matter is not as simple as this but this will do as a framework for thinking. The question is a complex one and its various psychological and social ramifications cannot be considered here. All that we can do here it to point out the necessity of acknowledging frankly human aggressive tendencies and to free these tendencies from feelings of guilt.

AGGRESSION acknowledged, we are faced with the problem of dealing with it. Man must learn to utilize it in a constructive, positive way. He must find means of directing it away from individuals to things. He must find outlets for it through direct and adequate sexual activity, apparently "nature's" outlet, through work and avocation. Further, he must find ways of preventing unnecessary additions to inherent aggression through the frustration of primary aggression. This latter problem, however, will tend to take care of itself as the other problem is solved.

But first men must put down aggression as it exists today. This is the immediate and most important problem. Our social philosophy has permitted aggression to become riotous. Aggression cannot be organized until it has first been brought under control. And by aggression one does not mean war in China or Manchuria or gangster outrages in the large cities. These are not seriously disturbing. In terms of human misery they are probably the least destructive examples of aggression.

In searching for aggression let us go not so far afield. It is the very real but less obvious aggression with which we need to concern ourselves. Aggression that bursts out into the open can be dealt with. Our method of socialization tends to drive aggression underground where it continues to exist and to operate in ways far more socially damaging than when in the open. For this socially paralyzing aggression do not look to the gangster but to ourselves. The National Conference of Social Work is representative of the best in culture and social-mindedness in the country. Whatever is true of its members will be generally true of our best. Consider more carefully the president of any one of these organizations, the chairman of the executive board, the various members of the board, the bishop, the college president,

(*Continued on page 244*)



New York Hospital-Cornell Medical College Association

Still an idealist, but a realist, he builds boldly, with assurance.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Schools in a Changing World

An Impromptu Play Without Action, Set Down by Beulah Amidon

Cast of Characters

HARRY A. OVERSTREET, *College of the City of New York*
BURTON P. FOWLER, *president of the Progressive Education Association; Tower Hill School, Wilmington, Delaware*
PERRY D. SMITH, *North Shore Country Day School, Winnetka, Illinois*
RUDOLPH LINDQUIST, *director of University Schools, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio*
W. CARSON RYAN, *director of Education, U. S. Indian Office*
LEILA STOTT, *City and Country School, New York City*
GEORGE S. COUNTS, *Teachers' College, Columbia University*
WILLARD W. BEATTY, *superintendent of schools, Bronxville, New York*
KATHARINE TAYLOR, *Shady Hill School, Cambridge, Massachusetts*
VOICES FROM THE AUDIENCE
Staging, direction and occasional summing up by Dr. Overstreet

SCENE: A Baltimore hotel banquet room during the 1932 annual meeting of the Progressive Education Association. The eight educators with speaking parts are seated in a semicircle on the platform. The audience fills all the chairs and stands three-deep at the back of the room. The scheme of the piece is to have those on the stage converse among themselves for an hour or more, after which the audience is invited to cease being audience and become part of the play. Before the dialog begins, Dr. Overstreet presents

THE ARGUMENT: Granted that a world of complexity and conflicting standards enters the life of the modern child by way of the radio, movies, newspapers, billboards, and other agencies, has the school any obligations to develop in the child an intelligent evaluation of that world?

Granted also that propaganda has no place in the school, how can teachers develop in the students a sense of genuine social values? How are such values to be determined? Where there is a diversity of view on matters social, political and economic, what is to be the attitude of the school?

Is the school to be the spokesman for the status quo, or is it to develop in the student an attitude of intelligent interest in a more adequate social order? In a rapidly changing world, is it the function of the school to confine itself to the kind of truth that is changeless?

In brief, how is the school to play an unambiguous part with relation to the changing social situation?

OVERSTREET: Well, there you have it. Where shall we begin?

RYAN: The schools have got to begin by taking it easy—not trying to change themselves and everything else all at once.

COUNTS: And learn to laugh off a lot, remembering that there is no code word—no formula—for anything.

BEATTY: In anything we attempt that is new and different in the schools we have to persuade parents that we are not robbing children of their sense of security. Parents and children and teachers, too, need a sense of security, even in a shifting world.

FOWLER: We as educators recognize our times as changing times. In 1895 there was no need to fit education to change. People did not see change as part of their world. Today we have to take the problem-solving attitude, from kindergarten through college. It means putting our emphasis on learning the fine art of thinking.

OVERSTREET: Security plus change!

LINDQUIST: But security is often the resultant sum of conflicts which are not so recognized. Conflicting points of view live at peace in our lives. The university chemist who is developing poison gas for war use is also a good churchman and father. He has compartmentalized his life. It is a tragic situation—for the individual and for the community. Shouldn't education make us more and more critical of our own motives, help to reveal inconsistencies in points of view and to integrate these into a social philosophy?

OVERSTREET: Critical of everything?

LINDQUIST: Yes, and especially of the "status quo."

FOWLER: You remember the Negro divine who prayed "An' oh, good Lord, deliver us frum de status quo, meanin' de mess we's in."

COUNTS: Perhaps we recognize change more today, but the same type of criticism of existing institutions goes back thousands of years.

OVERSTREET: How can we get the type of mentality—aware of changing conditions but balanced—that we seem to be asking for?

LINDQUIST: Without being a radical or a Red, we must admit that mass production, while it gives us more leisure, gives us less freedom and exploits the individual.

STOTT: It seems to me that if we let the little child see clearly the real factors of his own life and their relationships, that will help him look at life as a whole, not walled off in compartments.

OVERSTREET: That is, have him trace the relationships of his own life?

LINDQUIST: All the way along the child must take into account those factors of which he can appreciate the significance.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Photo by Werner Fetz for the City and Country School, New York City

SEEING THE WORLD AS IT IS

OVERSTREET: So we want security, but we also want critical-mindedness that can evaluate change. You suggest that the child start from experience and work from there—

COUNTS: We all know we are living in a changing world. Are we going to try to control the forces of life or simply adjust ourselves to them? This is the most crucial educational question we face. Shall we be spectators only, or shall we try to harness these forces and make them obey, yielding a certain sort of balance? The first course is easy—you seldom get into trouble that way. But society in some way, I believe, must take control.

RYAN: In such a concept, is a teacher a direct agent of control or is his a different function?

COUNTS: It's not a question of either or. The teacher is *one* of the factors in the effort of society to control change. The school inevitably emphasises certain values.

RYAN: In the Southwest we have an old culture—we don't know how old. Next door to the pueblo is the government school, representing the state. We are trying to start with Indian life where it is. The question is, where

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shall we try to bring in the Twentieth Century, in which the children must live and to what extent shall we leave them where they are? What is the teacher's job?

COUNTS: It is the job of integrating the past with the present. Any set of values must take account of our cultural past, must be derived from an examination of our cultural past and must see its pluses as well as its minuses.

OVERSTREET: You mean we must apply the critical attitude to our culture? And from there on?

COUNTS: It's there that we shall probably disagree. It's there that the creative job begins. James Truslow Adams says our major achievement in this country is not scientific or political or artistic or religious, but in fashioning what he calls "the American dream." America has stood for certain values—for making the life of the ordinary man easier, richer and nobler. That, he says, is the contribution of our democracy to world progress. I, for one, am willing to go back and re-examine this democratic tradition for the purpose of finding the values that should control an industrial civilization.

OVERSTREET: Examine the American dream and then dream a new one? In short, are we to be shapers of a new society, we educators?

TAYLOR: Isn't there a risk of standardization, even in values? Aren't values always changing, bursting up through new situations? In working with children I am always afraid they are likely to accept values too verbally, without enough experience. I think if you can give them a right attitude toward experience, together with a sense of responsibility, you are going farther than you would in offering them a definite set of values. The teacher is always in danger of stacking the cards.

OVERSTREET: We are going to shape values, but not so that they become static? What sorts of values are of this nature? We don't want to impress a set of fixed values—Counts agrees with that. But where do we go from there?

COUNTS: An individual born into a particular culture is born into that culture—that is a fundamental fact that can't be escaped. It's part of the price to be paid in being born. Every culture contains a set of values. Having been born into a particular culture, the individual receives many things, including tools of thinking and of doing. The school is one instrument of that whole cultural complex.

OVERSTREET: Here we are, right at the danger point. This culture now is a changing culture. What part is the school to take in shaping that change?

FOWLER: Two concrete things it *can* do: first, give more opportunity to think independently, through thinking about problems in the life of the city and of the country—thinking actually, not academically. Second, it can give more opportunity for developing taste, through doing and thinking in the arts.

OVERSTREET: In short, a thinking contact with the world, plus discrimination through the arts!

LINDQUIST: Aren't you just giving children a chance to reformulate their values?

BEATTY: Isn't difficulty in social adjustment always found in people who have clung to set values?

TAYLOR: Aren't we terrorized by the size of the problem? Isn't it possible to start the right habit of thought by selecting a sample of experience which would make a too easy generalization impossible? A broad general view has to come on top of experience.

OVERSTREET: Education means the evaluation of significant samples of experience?

TAYLOR: Economic society is too big for a child to grasp, but he can look at one instance or segment of it at a time, and learn a good deal. A group of fourteen-year-olds in our school studied the unemployment situation for a few weeks this year. We tried to sort out what we could and what we couldn't understand. We realized that we couldn't go widely or deeply. We found, however, many things we could understand: such as certain of the causes of unemployment, with fact illustrations of each; a realization of the widespread condition, through graphs and statistics; and some of its effects upon the worker and upon family and community life, through case studies. But we also found whole ranges of thought, like the relation of banking to the ups and downs of industry, which we could not touch. It was a healthy experience to recognize what we could and what we could not understand.

OVERSTREET: And so we should never engage the child in a range of life he can't think through?

TAYLOR: Not that, but he should know where the borderline lies.

RYAN: Did you find that the children could think through source material?

TAYLOR: Yes, if the teacher did enough sorting and selecting.

OVERSTREET: Then this critical-mindedness about human situations is a thing that the schools can help develop?

TAYLOR: Perhaps this is a good place to recall Professor Whitehead's statement: "In training a child to activity of thought, above all things we must beware of what I will call 'inert ideas'—that is to say, ideas that are merely received into the mind without being utilized, or tested, or thrown into fresh combinations."

BEATTY: We tend to over-simplify history, economics and so on. We make our study of these vast subjects so simple they aren't true. It leaves the child as a young adult beset by fear of a world he suddenly finds to be so much more complex than he had been led to believe it was.

OVERSTREET: Hasn't much of our education been just that?

STOTT: Mustn't we give opportunity for social experience, for working together on practical problems? My group of eleven-year-olds carry through the year a printing project. We have a press on which we print school lists, reading material for younger groups, invitations and tickets for school affairs, three or four issues a year of a school magazine, and so on. The question almost never comes up as to whether those who do the best work should fill our printing orders. The children take it for granted that everyone should have a chance to learn.

OVERSTREET: You mean that the teacher arranged situations that give this social experience, that force the child to face actual problems. Will this prepare the child for a changing world that contains both communism and fascism?

STOTT: What age child are we talking about now? I think we should begin with the very youngest, letting him see the world as it is.

RYAN: The child must learn to know a certain small world, but he must learn it in order to widen it. Have we given the child a chance to live into the reality of his

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

own environment? The typical school is a negation of reality.

OVERSTREET: Education has been a little bit of a corner of nothing?

RYAN: I remember when the parents of the Rose Valley School children were worrying about whether the children would learn in that sort of a free program. But pretty soon they were worrying about keeping up with the children's ability and eagerness to learn.

SMITH: You can give children these experiences, help them learn their own corner and move out of it. But you can also frighten children. Then they run back to their own little hole, and snatch at the first plank that drifts past. They have to have faith in something, a sense of continuing truth toward which they are working.

BEATTY: Haven't we got to be careful about that truth? How can we be sure it isn't something that will run out on them?

SMITH: Perhaps what the child needs is to live with a teacher who has faith in something and through that contact get a sense of coming through to some sort of solution.

OVERSTREET: There's something important there. But can we really go farther than to say this: that the teacher must be passionately in favor of honest-mindedness, and able to organize the school program so that the children are constantly having honest experience.

TAYLOR: So far we seem to have been talking about materials for study of contemporary human relations. Sometimes through remote history, or through mathematics or science we can find a cooler way of learning how to think clearly in a too personal world.

RYAN: How can you carry that method over? Does your experience indicate that the child can apply that objective, clear thinking to other fields?

TAYLOR: It's difficult for anyone, child or grown-up. But even if it can't be wholly carried over, it is important to have as part of the school experience training in cool, impersonal thinking.

OVERSTREET: A thousand years ago you couldn't have viewed science that way. Any scientific thought that went beyond established belief was emotionally resisted. We are beyond that in science today, but not in sociology. A nice slogan to have over the door of a new school building would be: Here You May Ask Any Question.

STOTT: But they can ask any question! Perhaps they can't get answers, but they can ask.

OVERSTREET: According to my experience with college teaching, a burning question like communism must be handled very warily. We need free thinking and functional thinking in human relations as in science. We have the cooling chambers of science—have we also hot places we cannot enter for fear of getting burned?

STOTT: Isn't the real difficulty that we don't know the answer to some of these hard questions? And can't we just say we don't know?

TAYLOR: Exactly! And we also often make the mistake of thinking we must reach a conclusion about something where instead we need to keep the attitude of study and investigation.

FOWLER: Isn't the relation between teacher and pupil the least honest in the world? [*At this point, voices from the floor insisted on being heard.*]

VOICE: Is there any school in which the child may question the ability of the teacher to teach?

ANOTHER VOICE: That is one of the questions you mustn't ask in school.

OVERSTREET: To go back to what Miss Stott was saying, haven't we numbed the minds of children by putting them in situations they can't think through? What we need is a certain type of mind, arrived at by the right kind of experience and learning.

VOICE: Free thinking—I think you called it functional thinking, Dr. Overstreet, or someone up there did—calls for free teachers and free teaching. The attitude in the schools should be a recognition of the greatness of suspended judgment.

VOICE: Are we at the point where we are passing out of the secure part of this American dream into an insecure part? And if that's true, how are our schools to function in the light of the questions we face as we turn to Russia, Italy, Geneva, China, Japan? What is to be our attitude as educators and as groups of educators?

VOICE: This seems to me a terribly cynical discussion. Doesn't anybody here recognize the limitations of human logic? The problem of life is deeper than "clear thinking." Honest-mindedness has to be accompanied by a fearless grasp of situations, with faith behind it in something greater and more lasting than human understanding.

COUNTS: The kind of education we have been talking about here seems to me destined to produce the college professor—there's been nothing expressed from this platform except an intellectualistic attitude toward every department of life.

VOICE: I think we are losing sight of the children. They are very simple. They come into a complex world. We as educators are very conscientious, very anxious to teach them something. It's barely possible we are rushing children into overstimulating situations too soon. As a result of our efforts, they are getting a superficial instead of a fundamental point of view.

VOICE: Somebody was talking about the need for suspended judgment. But what is going to determine when this glorious suspended judgment shall crystallize? That is, assuming it is a combination of many values—

VOICE: I believe what children most need and what schools and homes, too, for that matter, never give them is time to think. They need to find themselves, to get acquainted with themselves. But there is never a chance for that.

BEATTY: Genuine experience, thinking, feeling—how are we to get it, in school or out of school?

VOICE: And respect for other people's values as well.

VOICE: To what extent shall adults who have had experience superimpose judgment on children, who have not had that experience?

VOICE (*very plaintively*): But we aren't *getting* anywhere. It is almost time for the meeting to break up and we haven't any conclusions. We just go on asking questions and nobody answers anybody.

OVERSTREET: But isn't that the most useful thing we can do—educators or anybody else in America today? Isn't it about the only thing we can do? Ask questions, and think about them, and ask more questions—maybe it's dangerous, as well as useful—but what else is there for us to do? Who really knows?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A College Museum with a Plan

By BLAKE-MORE GODWIN

LAST spring one of the pioneers in the development of the teaching of art history, Prof. Alfred Vance Churchill, spoke at the annual meeting of the College Art Association, in New York City, upon the concentration plan of the Smith College Museum. It was my privilege to preside at this session and so great was the interest aroused by his address that it has seemed that the inspiration of his achievement in museum building should be extended beyond the confines of the group then present.

Most museums here and abroad have grown without much of a plan. Once there was somewhat of a fad for acquiring large collections en bloc, and there has always been a great deal of accepting of more or less unrelated, uninspired and innocuous gifts and bequests.

Perhaps the first museum director who developed a comprehensive purpose and plan for his institution was the late George W. Stevens of the Toledo Museum of Art. Professor Churchill and Mr. Stevens, each working in a systematic and scientific fashion, have demonstrated the possibilities inherent in the application of brains rather than money to collecting works of art. The similarity of method of the two men is most striking. Each first of all developed a logical plan, not of an ideal museum which could only be achieved with unlimited funds and the right of eminent domain over the art of the world, but rather one possible of accomplishment with the small means at his disposal.

That scholarship may outwit the cost of quality is the inspiring idea offered by the Smith College Museum of Art to current education. In the eleven years of his directorship Professor Churchill has gathered a collection which attracts attention from the critics of two continents. That a college should attempt to gather original examples for the teaching of art history at all shows exceptional determination; when such originals are of a quality to participate in exhibitions at the Louvre, at Stockholm and Munich, at the New York Museum of Modern Art, at Chicago Art Institute and at Harvard University, the matter reaches an importance deserving the recognition of educators.

Success in getting together works of high quality, at comparatively small outlay, has been achieved by various methods. It was done partly through concentrating on masters whose prices have not risen in proportion to their merits; partly by the purchase of works of small size which the average museum director would have passed by; partly by the acquisition of unfinished canvases which, in spite of their incompleteness, often contain and reveal the conception, the emotion, the personal handwriting of the master more fully than the "finished" masterpiece. Such works engrave their creator's thought and method quite as deeply on the student's mind as do larger, more advertised examples.

Until quite recently the acquisitions of the museum have been solely the reward of extraordinary perception of art quality on the part of the director—perception of genuine excellence sometimes recognized in works which had been injured; or were disguised with the accumulations of age; or which were temporarily out of fashion. For art like costume has its vogue, and equally without reason.

Lately the funds for purchasing works of art have been largely increased. A bequest of Sara Hillyer Mather, added to the original gift of her brother, Drayton Hillyer, and a bequest of D. W. Tryon, the distinguished painter, have placed the museum in an enviable position from the financial point of view. The director has already been able to add to the collection two or three ambitious works which until now would have been out of the question. A few precious things have also been acquired by gift.

THE plan at Smith merits study, and has in fact attracted the attention of museum directors and educators. It is easy to see that no college museum could hope to cover the art of all periods and races. Professor Churchill's plan is a concentration, first of all, on the main stream of the European civilization. "This art," he says, "may be no more important than the Oriental; but it is more important to us." The sources of our culture are found in the Egyptian, Greek, Roman Byzantine, Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance cultures.

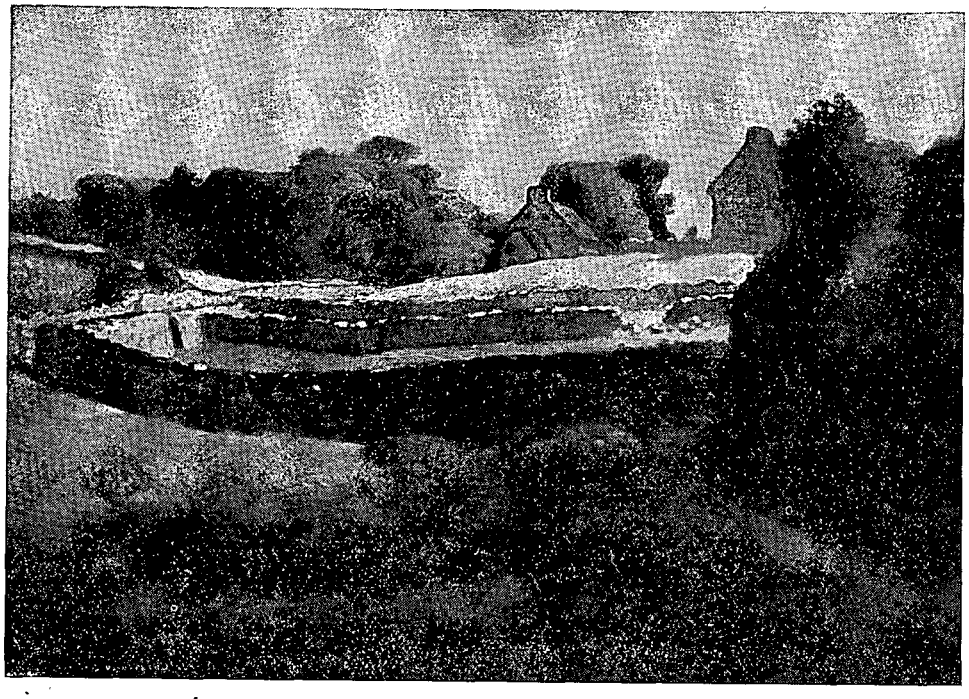
But this area, too, is impossibly vast. It is necessary to cultivate a restricted field. The field chosen at Smith is not the art of a single nation or school but that of a period. It is in fact a topic, the development of modern art, the word modern being defined to include the period from the French Revolution until now. It is a field of utmost importance to contemporary life and thought, one of great richness, and perhaps the one most neglected in our universities.

SELF (detail) by *Goya*

It is conceivable that with such a plan a model college museum might be built up. At Smith College this has actually been done. A study of the accompanying illustrations will give some idea of what has been accomplished. The success of the achievement has drawn the comments of such critics as Walter Pach, Guy Eglington, Dr. Valentiner, Dr. Paul J. Sachs, Dr. J. Meier-Graefe, Dr. Hermann Loeb, and Prof. Lionello Venturi. It is evident that future students of nineteenth century art will have to go to Smith.

The scheme of the collection is based on a chronological list of the great names of modern art without regard to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



FARM AT GRÉVILLE *by Millet*

nationality, a list limited to the men who form the indispensable links in the development, the men without whom the history of art could not be written.

The first name in the list is that of the greatest artist of modern Spain, an initiator in both the romantic and realistic movements of the century, Francisco Goya. Then comes that Englishman "who must be called the father of modern painting if it is to have a father at all," John Constable. After these follow the names of David, Ingres, Baron Gros, Géricault, Delacroix, Daumier, Corot, Millet, Courbet, Manet, Monet, Renoir, Degas, Seurat, Gauguin, Van Gogh, and Cézanne.

Of this list of "indispensables" the Smith collection already covers ten. There is at least one characteristic example of each. In several cases there are two or three examples or even more. Here are three canvases by Delacroix and four by Courbet. A few such points of "concentration within concentration" offer the student invaluable opportunities for intensive research.

Indicative of the standard of selection is the Goya self-portrait, life size, forceful, direct and broadly characteristic of the great precursor.

The genius of Theodore Géricault is seen in his well known Flemish Farrier, and in Cross Country Run, the latter a fully developed composition in the master's greatest vein. The Smith College Museum is in fact the only place in America where this marvelous artist can be adequately studied. Tastes fluctuate, and the market with them. It happens that prices of the works of this painter have been low. The Smith Museum is wisely an opportunist and has acquired its superb examples in the lean years. Géricault is actually represented by seven works.

A detail from the Massacre of Scio teaches Delacroix at his most dramatic, and is supplemented by a tumultuous Boissy d'Anglas, the impressionistic mob scene lighted by faces starting from the dark.

A Corot of importance and grave beauty is his Jumièges, a composition startling by its illusion of closeness to the spectator. Delicate, majestic, pallid against the heavens, it shows the manner of Corot's fine early Italian studies.

Millet is represented by the Farm at Gréville, a work revealing a power and freshness not often found in this great painter, who here shows himself a master of organization and the predecessor and inspirer of Van Gogh and Cézanne.

Courbet appears as the giant of modern realism in the great Portrait of a Man, and as a composer of the first rank in his Toilette de la Mariée, indeed a fortunate Courbet, full of humanity, strong in contrasted values and the grouping of the beautiful mosaic of women's figures. By Courbet also, is the Young Musician, signed and dated 1842, a canvas assured in brushwork, vivacious in the handling of crisp music sheets, the boy's collar, face and hands.

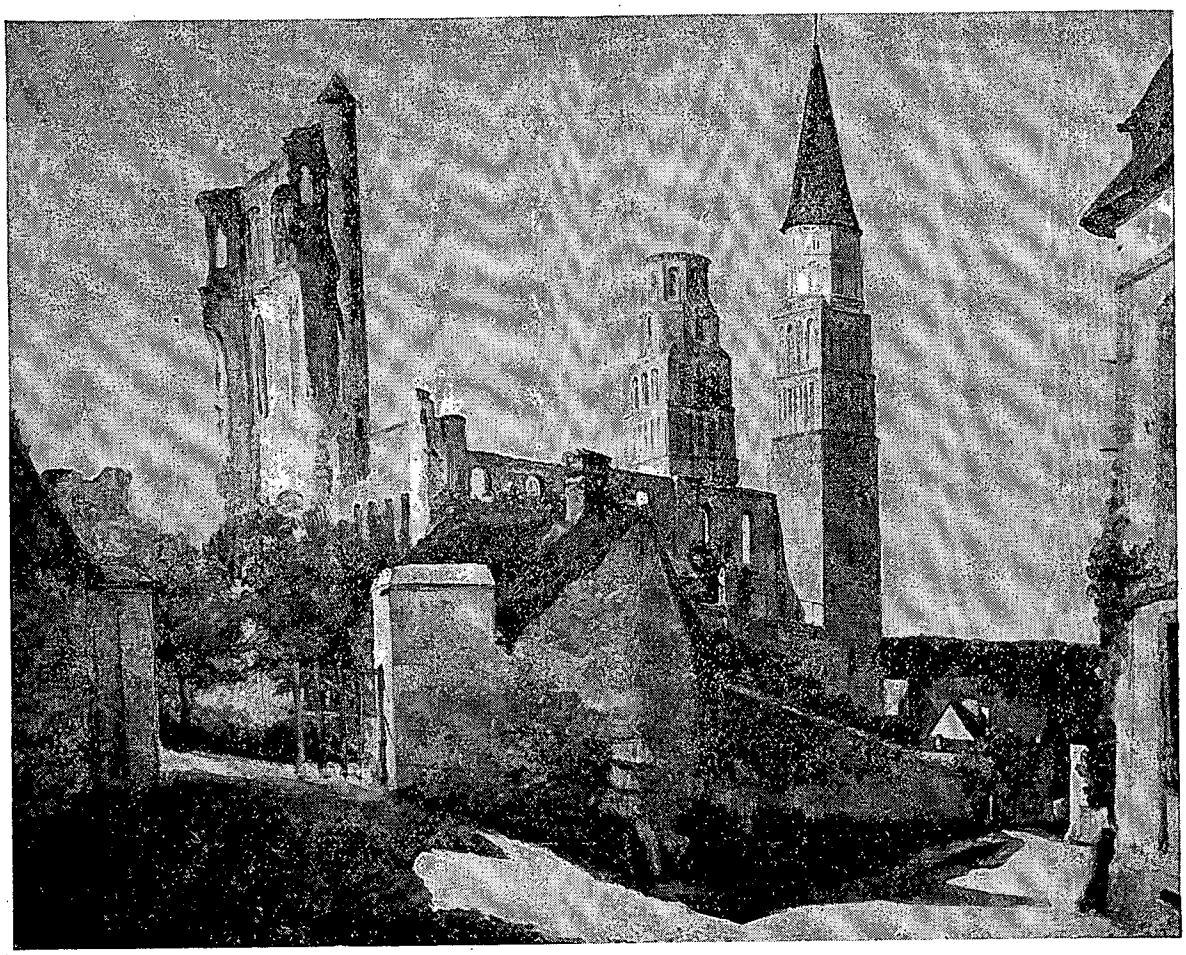
A remarkable portrait of Mme. Edouard Maître speaks brilliantly for Renoir.

Indicative of the standard of selection is the magnificent Cézanne, La Route Tournante, painted about 1890. The composition is spontaneous and arresting; very effective are the contrasts in the crowded hillside and the sweep of road, and the fine insistence of roof-lines balanced with areas of sheer simplicity. This masterpiece closes the modern group.

Self-portrait, landscape, and figure composition, the varied canvases of the Smith College galleries are unified and brought together by a certain style, a certain assurance, a spontaneity in each. These qualities bespeak critical selection of works conceived at the moment of their artists' fullest achievement. All possess an appeal characteristic of their masters.

The Smith College Museum today contributes a policy. It exhibits a scheme of action concentrated on essentials, a method of acquiring much for little money; and such a demonstration is of infinite value to museums, to private collectors, and to the college pledged to a department of art history. It is to be hoped that so sane and fruitful an example may be followed by other institutions. A series of college and university museums representing various concentration fields would constitute a signal advantage to art study in America, an advantage to undergraduates and professional scholars alike.

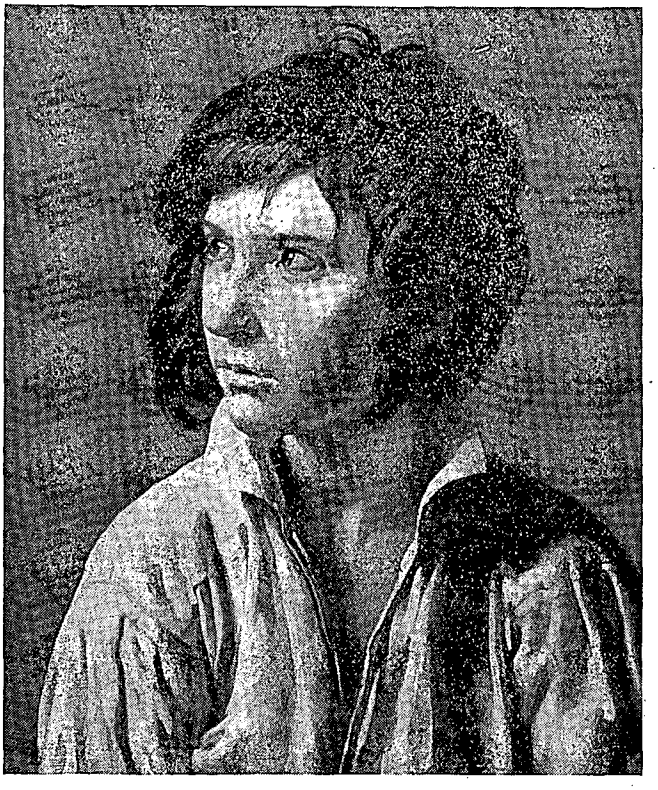
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



JUMIÈGES *by Corot*

PORTRAIT OF MME. EDOUARD MAÎTRE *by Renoir*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



HEAD OF A BOY *by Géricault*

TOILETTE DE LA MARIÉE (detail) *by Courbet*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What's Happening to the Schools

By JOHN K. NORTON AND MARGARET A. NORTON

THE chairman of a public meeting in the South wielded his gavel and said: "As voters of Pitt County, North Carolina, you have had an opportunity to debate whether this community will levy the taxes necessary to maintain a full school term or will shorten the term to six months. Mr. Secretary, please, poll the meeting." Whereupon one hundred forty-five citizens voted for the tax; there were only five "Noes."

Is this typical of what is happening to the public schools during the depression? We recently sent letters to fifty-four state and city superintendents, asking how their schools are meeting hard times. The replies, supplemented by material in recent issues of representative educational journals, describe actual gains and losses in public education due to depression conditions.

There is unanimous agreement that the depression has increased the task of public education. In addition to taking care of a bigger enrolment, the schools are doing a relief job in many communities. Thousands of children, who in normal times would have gone to work, continue in school because no jobs are available. There was an estimated decrease of 34 per cent in the number of fourteen- and fifteen-year-old children leaving school for work in 1930 as compared with 1929. The increase in attendance is heaviest in the highschools and in vocational classes. In Minneapolis, five hundred highschool graduates last January continued for the spring term as postgraduates because they could not find employment. In Arkansas highschools, the enrolment was 15.5 per cent greater in 1931 than in 1930. Preliminary statistics of enrolment in federally-aided vocational education courses for 1931 show an increase over 1930 of 18.4 per cent.

Unemployed adults in large numbers have returned to school to better their vocational training or to learn new trades. Thus in New York City under an emergency provision between eight thousand and nine thousand adults have enroled in day vocational classes, planned for boys and girls under eighteen.

"Jeez, I thought I'd freeze to death before it was time to go to school today!" It was in New York City that a friend of ours overheard this remark by a small boy to his chum as the two of them hurried along the sleety sidewalk one February morning. But in hundreds of American communities this past winter children have gone to school not only to learn to read and write but to keep warm, to get clothes and shoes, even to eat.

Some people question whether relief is a legitimate school function, but faced with the fact of cold and hungry children, many school systems are rendering such services. Most frequently school relief means supplying clothing and one or more meals daily. The total cost, in some cases, comes from the educational budget. More often the school system bears the administrative cost and the food and clothing is supplied through local and national relief agencies. Sometimes the relief work is financed wholly or in part by teachers' voluntary contributions.

In one Pennsylvania county last winter the schools gave one meal each day to approximately two thousand children. Pittsburgh's superintendent of schools reports that the schools in that city have been supplying milk to ten thousand undernourished pupils daily and serving meals to four thousand needy children and that in one month (February) twelve hundred pairs of shoes were distributed. All this work has been done in close cooperation with local welfare agencies. In Cleveland, pupils are examined by school physicians and relief is given the undernourished. In New York City the contributions of teachers and other school employes in one month for school relief totaled $260,000. The City Teachers' Association of Newark cooperates financially and otherwise with local welfare agencies in maintaining a relief program on a twelve-month basis. Breakfasts were served to eighty-six hundred children in 128 school buildings and other relief centers in Philadelphia in a single day. Denver school employes raised more than $100,000 for the Community Chest and unemployment relief. San Francisco teachers have agreed to contribute from 3 to 12 per cent of their 1932-33 salaries to the city relief fund. These are typical illustrations of how school people throughout the United States are shouldering added responsibilities.

BUT while the schools have taken on new jobs, funds to finance public education are being sharply cut. Faced with the dilemma of more work to do and less money to spend, school boards are working out a variety of solutions.

Statesmanship and foresight characterize the "hard times" program of some school systems. Oakland, California, anticipated retrenchment by making through its school research department an appraisal of all school activities. The organization of personnel, clerical and professional, the curriculum, purchase and distribution of supplies, utilization and maintenance of school plants, and other phases of the school program were examined from the standpoint of decreasing costs without decreasing educational efficiency. It was found that teachers spent time on clerical duties, which could as well be performed by low-salaried clerks. Teachers in charge of attendance were relieved by secretaries at an annual saving of $1000 for each substitution. A better method for determining the proper ratio between the teaching personnel and pupil enrolment was developed. The standard supply lists for classrooms, shops and laboratories were overhauled. As a result, the Oakland superintendent of schools reports: "We are viewing the depression not as a monster which is destroying the school system, but rather as an opportunity to evaluate carefully all school services."

In Des Moines, Iowa, careful planning has permitted a reduction in costs from $114 to $103 per pupil between 1924 and 1932, a total saving of more than a million and a quarter dollars. During the same period, the professional standards of the teaching staff were substantially increased.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Other school systems report economies effected by improving their business management, by revision of insurance schedules, working out more careful specifications for building construction, keeping records on which to base estimated needs of personnel, equipment, and supplies.

In contrast to such orderly planning and practice, there are plenty of examples of the violation of every principle of sound budgetary procedure under the stress of the depression. Thus the school board of one large city recently used the "axe method" in dealing with the proposed budget for the coming school year. "I move, Mr. President," said one member, striking the first blow, "that we reduce the appropriation for supplies for the Horace Mann Elementary School from $787 to $700. That makes a good round number and they will have to get along on that." Motion put and carried! Page after page, this school budget was revised by arbitrarily reducing every item to "a round number."

In general one or more of the following measures are being employed to cut school costs: increasing teaching load; shortening the school term; postponing building programs; curtailing services; reducing salaries.

Many school systems are maintaining salary schedules either actually or in principle. There has been no change in the salary schedule of New York City's thirty-three thousand teachers. The Denver schedule which provides equal pay for teachers of equal training and experience, regardless of whether they teach in elementary or secondary schools, still holds. Providence, Rhode Island, Duluth, Minnesota, Evansville, Indiana, Chattanooga, Tennessee, Boston, Massachusetts, and many other communities report that they have maintained salary schedules during the current school year.

Some school systems have "frozen" their salary schedules, that is, the regularly scheduled increases have been postponed. Buffalo, New York, is an illustration. Other communities have maintained the principle of the salary schedule, but have reduced the amounts actually paid. Detroit, for example, first granted all teachers their regular increases and then cut salaries 3 per cent. The same plan was followed in Grand Rapids, Michigan, Tulsa, Oklahoma, and Winnetka, Illinois, except that larger decreases were made.

IN other communities teachers' salaries have been slashed. In Atlanta, Georgia, the reduction was 16 per cent; in Knoxville, Tennessee, 15 per cent; in Baltimore, Maryland, 6 per cent; and in Birmingham, Alabama, 10 per cent. In Chicago on February 1, 1932 salary cuts went into effect which took $4,172,212 from regular teachers.

Many incidents like the following can be picked up in rural communities down South. A teacher in a consolidated school district in Georgia had been receiving $110 a month. In August 1931, the school board told him that he would have to accept $75 a month in script, which would probably amount to $65 or less. When he hesitated, he was told that a woman was available, who would take the job for $35.

Teachers in some counties of Alabama who taught throughout the school year have received only two months' salary. Many have exhausted savings and life insurance to tide them over the winter.

Thousands of teachers like those of Akron, Ohio, and Atlanta, Georgia, volunteered to take salary cuts as their contribution toward keeping the schools open during the term just ending. The three thousand public-school employes of Rochester, New York, signed over a month's salary to help the school board meet a budget cut of $1,080,000. All the teachers of Ashtabula, Ohio, and Pontiac, Michigan, gave full time for one month without pay.

The fact that the schools are making every effort to uphold salary schedules does not mean that the appropriations for teachers' salaries have been maintained. These appropriations may be cut without lowering the salaries of those employed by reducing the teaching force (thereby adding to the community unemployment problem) and increasing the number of pupils in each classroom. In Baltimore and Birmingham, for example, when a teacher resigns the position is left unfilled and classes are combined. In some cities, temporary and even regularly employed teachers have been dropped when resignations did not effect the needed economy. Thus, in Flint, Michigan, sixty teachers were "let out," and in Syracuse, New York, 125. Some school systems, such as Warren and Youngstown, Ohio, and Rockford, Illinois, have doubled up on administration, making one principal responsible for two schools. In Minneapolis, the average size of classes has been increased from 38 to 40 in the elementary schools, from 27 to 30 in the highschools, and from 30 to 32 in the junior highschools. Pittsburgh is teaching twenty-four hundred more pupils this year with thirty-five fewer teachers.

SHORTENING terms and closing schools are the most drastic of all retrenchment measures. Toledo schools closed in May this year instead of June. In Bloomington, Illinois, one month was cut from the school term. Many schools will begin a month later in the fall.

Not a school opened in Bledsoe County, Tennessee, last winter. Some schools in Tennessee were unable to continue after the Christmas holidays. In Arkansas, 725 rural schools closed on the first of February for the balance of the year, thus turning some thirty-six thousand pupils out of classrooms. In certain sections of this state, schools ran only three, four, or five months this year. Factors contributing to the shortened school terms include bank failures, involving school funds on deposit; decreases in land values and lowered tax assessments; uncollectible taxes. Various makeshifts were used to piece out the Arkansas school year. One Polk County district had sufficient funds to carry its four-room school six of the usual eight months. A mass meeting was called. The teachers said that if they had food and shelter they would finish out the term without salary. One citizen promptly offered a supply of home-canned fruits and vegetables; another donated some hams; others gave sweet potatoes, preserves, poultry, milk, butter and garden stuff. Firewood for the teachers' house was cut from the plentiful timber of the region. The school went on.

Even in wealthy school districts boards of education have acted without precedent. In January 1932 the Winnetka schools had not received their tax money, due to the breakdown of Illinois' obsolescent tax system. Without funds they faced immediate closing. The board of education mailed each taxpayer a voluntary tax bill, which was an exact computation of the school tax rates against the assessed valuation of his property. The response was remarkably good. Many paid their school taxes at once. As a result, the Winnetka school system has been able to meet all its bills and to pay its teachers on the first of each month.

North Carolina, which is not a wealthy state, gives an

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

even more striking illustration of the response of the people when the issue is clear cut. In this state ten school districts have recently voted as to whether a full or a six months' term should be maintained. Eighty-three per cent of the people lined up in favor of the full term, even though it meant higher taxes.

School building programs have been halted in many communities. Omaha reports the schools will do as little building as possible this year. Denver's school building program has been on a pay-as-you-go basis. This year the amount budgeted for needed new buildings had to be used in other ways. Among hundreds of other school systems whose current budgets provide for no new buildings are Rochester, New York, Youngstown, Ohio, and Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Many school superintendents report that they are "coasting," that is, buying no new equipment or library books, making no repairs, and postponing all expenses for new buildings and equipment. These are clearly emergency measures. Looked at in long-range terms it is poor economy to drop programs of maintenance and repair and so pile up exorbitant costs for years ahead. As a better way out, the board of education of Manhattan, Kansas, made an appropriation for the purchase of materials to be used in conditioning school property, after arranging for labor to be furnished free by the local unemployment committee. Painting, laying new concrete walks, tree trimming, repairing roofs, furniture making and mending, sanding playgrounds were thus done at small cost to the schools, and with two-way gain to the community.

I WOULD LIKE IT TRIMMED JUST AS CLOSE AS YOU CAN GET IT, AN STILL MAKE IT LOOK NICE —
BOARD OF SCHOOL COMMISSIONERS
1931-32 SCHOOL BUDGET
MR TAXPAYER
CHAS. KUHN-31.-

Charles Kuhn in The Indianapolis News

ANOTHER type of retrenchment is the curtailment of such school services as kindergartens, evening schools, playgrounds, summer schools, dental, medical and nursing service. Summer schools have been eliminated in Chicago, Illinois, Springfield, Massachusetts, and Montclair, New Jersey. In Louisville, Kentucky, night schools, which had been in operation since 1834, were discontinued last October for lack of funds. Night schools have also been closed in Rochester. In Dayton and Chillicothe, Ohio, evening classes are open only to those paying tuition. In a number of cities, such as Hamilton, Ohio, all kindergartens were closed. In the State of Washington, many counties have given up their school nursing service. That this is a dangerous economy was shown by the drop in school attendance and increased sickness among school children.

Less frequent but of more fundamental significance, are a series of changes in the general organization of the schools and the methods of financing them. The tens of thousands of local school districts through which education is administered in the United States are both inefficient and costly. The typical one-room rural elementary school enroling 15 to 20 pupils of all ages involves double the cost for a teacher's salary in a consolidated school with from 30 to 40 pupils for each teacher. The thousands of two-, three- and four-teacher highschools which afflict secondary education in the United States are equally wasteful, financially and educationally. Under the stress of the depression, this anarchy of localism is beginning to give way, at least in certain communities. For example, in DeSoto Parish, Louisiana, twelve small rural highschools were consolidated into five, and the number of teachers reduced from 47 to 27; in Logan County, Arkansas, schools were consolidated, reducing the number from 104 to 34, and the number of teachers from 210 to 138, both instances resulting in better educational opportunity for the children.

Associated with the tendency toward larger local school units is the progress in school financing. The traditional policy has been to leave the main burden of school costs to the local district. Modern industrial organization results in vast inequalities in the distribution of taxable wealth. As a result, some districts are able to support a modern well rounded school program on a minimum assessment. Others are able to provide only meager educational opportunities after levying an extremely burdensome tax. This problem is still further complicated by the fact that most localities obtain the chief part of their tax revenue through the obsolete general property tax. It is impractical administratively for a local community to use inheritance, corporation, income, or similar taxes to tap the new sources of revenue created by modern economic organization.

In the piping times of prosperity, these basic weaknesses in school finance did not make themselves so keenly felt. In the present emergency, some states and localities find they must either revise their (*Continued on page* 256)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Much Ado About Hitler

By JOHN PALMER GAVIT

NEVER mind about Hitler—despite all the tumult and the shouting. Germany will take care of Hitler, and absorb him and his clan-jamfry of Adullamites like last year's stomach-ache—as we absorbed Bryan and the Bull Moose—if the rest of the world will give her a chance. The rest of the world, including the United States of America, which holds the key of the whole business and will be in the end chiefly responsible for the result whatever it may be. Hitler is only a symbol of a situation which *might* complete the wreck of the world as we have known it, ourselves by no means escaping. Symbol of a situation which may be—let us fervently hope it will prove to be—the turning-point in modern history; the beginning of the end of the World War which never has ceased or even substantially mitigated, no matter how exuberantly we have celebrated the eleventh of November every year since 1919. Forget Hitler and fix attention upon whatever may be going to happen this month at Lausanne in Switzerland.

A month ago, before the French elections, it looked a pretty hopeless business. Hardly anybody dared to believe, scarcely even to hope, anything but that the result of those elections would register continued if not intensified obduracy on the part of France; grim determination to exact the pound of flesh at any cost. The astonishing gains of the Hitlerites in the German presidential election—Hitler might actually have won against anybody but Hindenburg—and their still more impressive gains in the state elections particularly in Prussia; all were interpreted, and rightly interpreted, as a gesture of desperate defiance at whom it might concern. As a declaration of war *à outrance* against France especially as the chief custodian and protagonist of all the injustices and miseries in the long train ensuing upon the Treaty of Versailles. Against *everything* in the post-war sequence.

Upon these emotions, intensified by ever-increasing economic distress and mounting commercial indebtedness, Hitlerism has fed, drawing unto itself, directly and by alliance, like the cave of Adullam of Samuel's time, "every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented." Discontented with things in general, with the humiliation of military defeat, with the overthrow of the monarchy—the Crown Prince joined it—with the failure of the old system of agriculture, with the destruction of feudal fealty and servility, with the impoverishment of civil servants and small capitalists, with unemployment, the dole and confiscatory taxation, with the price-dictatorship, with the destruction of the navy, with the loss of colonies and foreign trade, even with the increased cost of beer . . . with everything that has happened.

Of all this Hitler is the symbol. He represents the indubitable fact, attested by the Basle Committee and by pretty common knowledge, that Germany has reached the end of the rope; that no further squeeze is possible. Bruening, the German prime minister, has served notice and at Lausanne will reiterate it, that Germany can do no more. But while Bruening's announcement was couched in terms of polite regret, Hitler represents a berserk defiance, reckless of all consequences. And straight in the teeth of France.

It was, then, only natural to expect that in their own parliamentary elections almost immediately following the German, the French would answer the challenge by intensifying their own resistance to any concessions. What actually happened was quite otherwise, if not exactly a "soft answer." The result went strikingly to the Left, which may be interpreted as distinctly in the direction of conciliation. From Laval to Tardieu to Herriot—it was Herriot who at Geneva in 1924 joined with Ramsay MacDonald in those great irenic speeches in acceptance and support of the "Geneva Protocol." One might say that the spirit of Aristide Briand was still abroad.

This is momentous. Hitherto the ministers of Great Britain, Italy and Germany, MacDonald, Grandi, Bruening, have seen clearly what must be done; that the time is over-ripe for liquidating the war and trying for a fresh start. France has been the sticking-point. Nothing could be done without France. We do not know what Secretary Stimson heard or said during his recent stay in Europe; but we can be sure that he was not in a position to promise anything. The initiative obviously remains in Europe. But we can say also with much confidence that nothing would go so far to swing American sentiment in favor of very great concessions in the matter of the war-debts as a radical beginning at Lausanne.

Otherwise the consequences hardly could be exaggerated. Germany's inevitable *non possumus*—France demanding sanctions which could produce nothing but disaster in all directions including herself—repudiation by the other nations of their debts to each other and to us—threatening, to say the least, the whole great structure of international credit and confidence. . . . In a recent publication of the Foreign Policy Association[1] Dr. Max Winkler estimates the total stake of American investment abroad at the beginning of 1932 as not quite 18 *billions of dollars*, an increase during 1931 of nearly half a billion; distributed (in round numbers of millions) as follows, in comparison with 1931 and the pre-war total:

Region	*Jan.* 1, 1932	*Jan.* 1, 1931	*Jan.* 1, 1914
Europe	$5,765	$5,607	$ 350
Canada	4,601	4,436	750
South America	3,079	3,014	100
Central America	3,015	2,985	1,200
Australasia	1,012	995	175
Miscellaneous	495	490	50

The totals are prodigious:

Jan. 1, 1914	$ 2,625,000,000
Jan. 1, 1930	16,604,052,000
Jan. 1, 1931	17,528,254,000
Jan. 1, 1932	17,968,206,000

This is one measure of the tragic absurdity of saying, as some who ought to know better have been saying, that we can cheerily leave upon our European debtors the onus and the consequences of repudiation; one measure of our own desperate interest in what happens this month at Lausanne.

IN the midst of all this turmoil in the rest of the world, the Russians have finished, ahead of schedule, and officially tested, the mighty hydro-electric plant on the Dnieper River

[1] AMERICAN FOREIGN INVESTMENTS IN 1931. Foreign Policy Reports, Vol. VII, No. 24, February 3, 1932.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in southern Russia. The whole enterprise in the end will have cost upward of $400,000,000; it is one of the major achievements of the human race in its conquest of environment. While the triumph is primarily one of the Soviet Union, the major credit belongs to an American, Col. Hugh L. Cooper, head of the New York engineering firm bearing his name. American brains, American invention and industry, have supplied almost everything, from original drawings to the assembly of the immense generators and turbines. It kept employed *in the United States* hundreds, maybe thousands, of American workers who otherwise would have joined that much sooner the ranks of the unemployed. There could be no more obvious demonstration of the absurdity, the economic folly, of continuing our smug policy of ostracism against Russia. In point of fact, we are ourselves the chief victims of that quarantine. Like the cat in the familiar anecdote:

"No, mother, I am not pulling her tail. I'm just *holding* it—she's pulling her own tail."

At a time when we are literally starving for lack of markets for the products that we are not making but might make, we "high-hat" and turn our backs upon one in which we would be instantly welcome, of 150,000,000 people whose standard of living is rising and who need everything from buttons to baseballs, from hats to harvesters. And this on the ground chiefly that we do not approve of the way in which they conduct their own affairs. I personally detest their dictatorship, as I detested the despotism which preceded it; as I detest any dictatorship, anywhere—in Italy, Jugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania; wherever it may be. I should not like to see the Russian political system established in America—not that our own exhibits any present symptoms of perfection! But I cannot comprehend, much less share, the mental attitude of those who view with indifference, contempt or hostility the efforts of a vast people, against superhuman obstacles and almost world-wide obstruction, in a social and political experiment of the utmost interest and importance unprecedented in human history, to extricate themselves from the consequences of centuries of ignorance and brutal oppression; to catch up within a generation the time and progress they have lost, and to build themselves a better habitation for their future. As for their propaganda, feared by many—just now their most deadly activity in that respect is automatic and inadvertent, operating despite both them and ourselves in our own demoralized condition contrasting with the fact that they have no unemployment and want to buy our goods. It is a bit difficult to laugh off that sort of argument.

OF significance and importance not yet fully appreciated is the action of the National League of Women Voters, in annual session at Detroit, in declaring with astonishing unanimity in favor of entry by the United States into full membership in the League of Nations. This is no exuberant gush of guillible persons enchanted by phrases and millennial dreams, who "resolute" and let it go at that. These are pretty sophisticated people, representing all political parties and diverse points of view. It is greatly more important than the same action would have been at the inception of the League of Nations. For twelve years this "unpartisan organization to promote the responsible participation of women in government by means of a program of education, leading to legislative action" has been attentively studying this question. These women have seen the weakness and insufficiency of the League lacking the United States, and its inherent vitality despite that lack; also, especially of late, they have noted the instant tonic of American cooperation. They have come to understand that for sheer self-preservation, to say nothing of the rest of the world, we can no longer exist *in vacuo*, or at the top of any solitary beanstalk; that this nation must accept resident membership and responsibility in the human race.

Time and facts, the logic of events, have worked inexorably. Suddenly out of the blue is an answer to those of all sorts of opinion who gleefully, or ruefully, have been saying and believing that in the United States faith in the League of Nations has waned even to the vanishing point. On the firmer ground of the pragmatical as contrasted with the sentimental, has grown, as it were under the snow, quietly, steadily and with increasing momentum, a body of informed, intelligent and convinced opinion and determination. Of this the action of the League of Women Voters is the first conspicuously hopeful expression.

This is very far from saying that American women as a whole have been converted. There are still aggressive and influential among them many incurably reactionary groups of tories and parochial-minded ultra-nationalists, the Hitlerites and Fascists of America, who will fight to the last ditch, firmly believing that so they serve God and country. What it does mean is that after twelve years of consideration one of the most effectively organized bodies of women in America, represening upward of forty-two state leagues and their affiliates with a membership approximating five hundred thousand, has deliberately transferred this supposedly dead and safely-embalmed subject from the category of academic questions to be studied to that of *living causes to be fought for*. It means unmistakably that in America faith in the League of Nations has passed its nadir and is well on the way back, toward that state of "informed and convinced sentiment" which Newton D. Baker recently prescribed as indispensable for the return of the question to the field of practical politics. From now on the offensive is in the hands of the affirmative.

WE need to remind ourselves constantly in these perplexing times that in all countries including our own the old bottles are filling with new wine. For an increasing majority of the people the "normal conditions" about which the grayheads prate so ruefully never did exist or are prehistoric. When what we are pleased to call the "normal" world blew up in 1914, those now thirty to thirty-five years old were in school; the American boys and girls coming out of college this month were four; next year's freshmen were not yet born. At least half of the voters in all nations have come to their majority since 1914. So virtually the entire population of the world now under forty years of age has lived through its whole experience of conditions social, political, economic, in the midst of war, confusion, the general disintegration of things that used to be taken for granted; amid the bewildering process of readjustment, hardly yet to say reconstruction. It is common to speak of youth as "disillusioned." In truth, they never knew the illusions! The solemn reiterating prattle of their elders about religion, morals, economic and international relations, comes to them not so much as old and outworn stuff but as sheer "bunk," having no basis in reality. Nay, even worse than that for us and our moral authority—they test our conversation and professions of belief by our performances; our declarations of social and political ideals by the world that they see; the world that we ourselves have made for them. And they size us up as hypocrites, incompetents; at best deluded old fools living in a dream. They are eager to take possession of *their* world, of which we have made this sorry mess, and to

> . . . shatter it to bits—and then
> Re-mould it nearer to the Heart's Desire.

Never mind that they are dreaming too; that they by their own hard experience of trial and error will discover that much of what they now think "bunk" is true and forever fundamental; that our own failure is in great measure due to our falsity to our own professions. Be it so; all the more this is why they are in rebellion everywhere, demanding the right to extricate from the ditch into which we have driven it the vehicle upon whose safety and efficiency their own lives and future depend even more importantly than ours.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters & Life

In which books, plays, and people are discussed

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

Motley a la Mode

WHITE HOUSE BLUES, *by Felix Ray (Howard Brubaker). Illustrated by Frueh. Vanguard Press. 115 pp. Price $1.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
OF THEE I SING, *by George Kaufman and Morris Ryskind. Knopf. 214 pp. Price $2 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
OH YEAH? *Compiled by Edward Angling. Viking Press. 61 pp. Price $1 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
ANOTHER HO HUM, *edited by E. B. White. Illustrated by Soglow. Farrar & Rinehart. 124 pp. Price $1 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
IN THE WORST POSSIBLE TASTE, *by John Riddell. Illustrated by Covarrubias. Scribner. 214 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

THAT rich Pollyana who said we must laugh ourselves out of depression was (by accident) right. Laughter helps us endure, and laughter is the first step toward cure. Is this a funny nation? . . . Yes, we need gales of gusty laughter even though the senseless suffering of millions makes laughter stick in the throat. That is a very ancient human choice: to laugh lest we cry. But thus we avoid madness; and if we keep sane, we shall reach that good revolutionary laughter that blasts and cleanses. We can destroy some of our fool ideas only by laughing them to death. To lament and denounce gives both fools and folly false reputation and we fall into obsessions and blow up bugaboos. Between the famous Dilemma Twins, I vote for deflation, deflation with every keen barb of humor, paradox, epigram, ridicule and irony, to let the wind out. The overture to Revolution is satire; and Cervantes and Voltaire were good revolutionists, ploughboys as well as play-boys, running the enriching furrows of wit through the fields of illusion. Let us pray for such a giant fun-maker. Let us forget United States Steel and remember American irony.

Already we hear the whetting of spearpoints. But being American—and human—we first attack men, not delusions. The air is cheerful with the explosions of stuffed shirts. Our carnival is knee-deep with confetti of straw and excelsior. Your recall Oh Yeah?—that devastating litany of what our soothsaying statesmen and financiers chanted about the Depression. This bitter indictment of men by their own words and the facts has been brought down to 1932. Read the book, it'll be good for your humility. Could we ever have been so credulous? Well, never again—even for the prophets. There is a strange silence in the land, full we trust of furious thinking. Only the weather bureau mentions tomorrow. "The prophets are flat and horizontal like profits," grins Brubaker. This deflation of false leadership is healthful. It leaves room for the new.

But it is not enough to drop the foundling on the White House portico as Brubaker does in his hilarious dialogs in which Elmer Durkin plays Socrates in his news-shop at Woppington. These animated cartoons become campaign documents so sharp is the criticism of Republican leaders from 1928 to 1932. Even Elmer declares the President cannot be responsible for everything from dry weather to Japanese imperialism. Yet there is horse-sense in much of Elmer's incessant wise-cracking. Here is the mood:

All Hoover tooted in 1928 was the horn of plenty. . . . Alexandrew Hamellon made the great discovery that Coolidge could run a peace cheaper than Wilson ran a war. . . . Here we had an engineer trying to run a state and a master politician putting up a skyscraper. . . . The song is ended but the malady lingers on. . . . For going on two years the works was run by fortune-tellers and star-gazers. Gloom chased at all hours and faces lifted while you wait. . . .

H. G. Wells, by Covarrubias for In the Worst Possible Taste by John Riddell; Scribner's

This is gay and keen and in the American tradition. Mr. Dooley inevitably comes to mind, but Elmer has little of the deeper humor and wise philosophy of the Sage of Archey Road. Finley Dunne told the people of their own folly while Brubaker puts chance men in pillory. The satire seems brittle and glances off surfaces and too often depends on verbal glamor. The gift for our Americanese language is a miracle. It is deeper than punning to call Senator Borah "the Idahoper," the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, "anti-freeze dope," the rich, "the upper bracketteers," or to point out that "Mr. Hoover blocks all his own kicks." Plain people can

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Books About

CHINA

Living Issues in China
***By* Henry T. Hodgkin,**
formerly Secretary of the National Christian Council of China
A profound discussion of living issues in China today, with special reference to the place of Christianity in Chinese life.. $1.00

As It Looks to Young China
***Edited by* William Hung,**
Professor of History, Yenching University, Peiping
A strikingly interesting treatment of the social and religious questions that Chinese youth are facing today. Each chapter is written by a Chinese in collaboration with a foreign colleague of his own choosing. $1.00

The Young Revolutionist
***By* Pearl S. Buck,**
author of the Pulitzer Prize Novel "The Good Earth"
An authentic picture of great numbers of Chinese boys and young men as the author has seen them; inspired with patriotism, and striving to help build a new China. As interesting as "The Good Earth." $1.50

THE FRIENDSHIP PRESS
New York

JUST PUBLISHED!

THE HUMAN PRICE OF COAL

A Study Outline of the Bituminous Coal Industry

Why must thousands of starving children in the soft coal areas be fed by the Quakers?
What are the basic causes of the chaos in the coal industry?
What are the points at issue between the operators and labor unions?
Are the operators making money?
Where does the consumer come in?
Can the coal industry be reorganized to serve human need? How?
Is Government action needed?

Only an aroused social conscience based on knowledge of the facts, will demand such basic changes in the industry as are necessary to eliminate the present chaos and develop an industry planned to serve human needs.

ORDER YOUR COPY NOW!
Price 40c; 12 for $4.00; 50 for $14.00.

ASSOCIATION PRESS
347 Madison Avenue, New York

understand and enjoy this and mayhap stop myth-making.

Motley is fashionable. It is of good omen that Of Thee I Sing draws crowds to the Music Box theater in New York and wins the Pulitzer award for an American play. These are the reasons:

It is a biting and true satire on American politics and the public attitude toward them. Its effect on the stage promises to be very considerable, because musical plays are always popular and by injecting genuine satire and point in them a very large public is reached.

We have pointed out that our propaganda plays achieve little because nobody goes to see them. Here is a vehicle that does reach the populace. Moreover, it claims the noble prerogative of the theater to hold the mirror up to nature; it lambasts not fools, but folly; its target is our empty political gestures and our own worship of sentiment and hokum. The satire registers even in the printed text.

We, the people, define no real issues, therefore John T. Wintergreen runs on a ticket of Love. We demand circuses, so his sweetheart, Miss White House, is chosen at an Atlantic City beauty contest. No candidate sticks by principle, therefore this one refuses the winner, one blond Devereaux, choses a corn-muffin-making secretary and proposes to her in forty-eight states. Our system is full of outworn conventions and traditions and so the vice-president is sunk without trace. Nobody even remembers his name, Throttlebottom. Our foreign relations are infantile, and so France threatens trouble because the President jilted Mlle. Devereaux. The Constitution rules, so the vice-president fulfils the duties the President cannot. Throttlebottom marries the girl. The people cheer.

Grand spoofing it is. It attacks the system and the demos, and especially the whole fantastic realm of ballyhoo. There are few scenes that cut so deep into our current unrealism as does the picture of our nominating convention where, while the pseudo-issues are being proclaimed, the loud-speaker belches baseball scores and a wrestling match is staged in front of the rostrum. The proceedings stop for the hippodrome act. Bread and circuses—and often without the bread!

These satires show up the myth-makers, the dead system, and the ballyhoo that pulls the strings. How long now before we begin to laugh at our ruling illusion, the worship of *things?* We are victims of machines because they give us things. We reward our leaders because they promise us things. We defend our system and our economics because they have produced things. The great satire will be not against men but against things. We applaud our present clowns who with bladders drive half-gods off the stage that the true gods may find room.

Meanwhile we must fight off cynicism and disillusion. Laughter is needed for laughter's sake, tonic as well as purge. Another Ho Hum is good medicine, not a moral in a carload. Like its forerunner it is a mad (*Continued on page* 255)

"YES, MY WORKERS ARE DRIER, BUT—"
(*Continued from page* 216)

made impossible by unavoidable political factors, to go back to the saloon in order to learn our lessons over again."

Straight Ahead, Back-Track or Detour?

A NEAT puzzle, indeed!

It's too near bedtime to turn loose a free imagination and try to broadcast here the tale of "How Uncle Sam Found the Answer." For certain reasons that story is hardly so impossible as may be thought. But leaving that for another time, let me summarize like this:

1. The actual gains in dollars and cents made from prohibition by the industrial worker and his family, and through these by the whole of an American society based on mass-production industry, appears to be acknowledged by those who are in the best position to observe and evaluate it—the country's industrial employers and producers.

2. These worker gains are today in grave danger of being lost through the rapid growth of a belief that the gains, tangible though they are, are offset by the decidedly less tangible

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and also less verified and less verifiable evils symbolized by Jazz Youth, Polite Maturity and Gun-handed Gangdom. Unless these evils are either ended or somehow shown to be less existent than is believed, ways are likely to be found before long for either decisive surrender and back-tracking or for uncertain and highly experimental dilution and detouring.

3. To any one who deeply cares—whether from sentimental or hard-boiled economic reasons—about the well being of the huge majority and pivotal group composed of the workers and their families, this threatened loss of acknowledged tangible gains must, especially at this time, appear extremely serious and altogether regrettable.

4. Both back-track and detour are likely to bring serious dollars-and-cents loss to that hundred-million group of workers and also profound disappointment to everybody else—everybody except the selfish and unsocial persons who stand ready to confess themselves frankly thirsty for either strong liquor or liquor-trade profits.

Thus, for instance, the beer-and-light-wines detour appears likely to prove disappointing for at least three reasons:

First: It pretty surely won't greatly lessen either unemployment or general taxes. Outside of saloons, the country's breweries never employed anything like as many as one hundred thousand men. And during the five wet years of 1913-19 the entire liquor industry averaged excise taxes of only a little more than $78,000,000 annually! (*About ½ of 1 per cent of the threatened federal deficit.*)

Second: This detour will hardly cramp the style of either Jazz Youth or Polite Maturity, and hence of Gun-handed Gangdom. To imagine Mrs. Grundy—or Mr. Sales Manager—handing out in place of the aristocratic cocktail or highball, nothing but a plebeian stein of beer—well, it just is to laugh! And so long as that remains true, Mr. Bootlegger should worry. The real jam on his bread is spread by aristocratic, not by plebeian thirst.

Third: By exactly the same token, what taxes might be paid on beer would come from precisely those least aristocratic and least Grundy-bossed citizens who are least able to pay them. Such taxes, furthermore, would represent dollars subtracted from those assigned to more constructive items on the restricted family budget of the workers.

5. Considerable disappointment appears likely, also, from many if not all of the various plans for government control of both hard and soft liquor. Oddly enough, those who see most plainly the defects of governmental regulation on this present basis, appear oftenest to assume the most perfect enforcement on behalf of some other governmental plan. The trouble is that, whether governmental control requires the enforcement of regulations for the prohibition or, on the contrary, for the sale, of alcohol, history seems to suggest that in both cases certain political factors tend always to introduce graft, lobbying, favoritism and various other sorts of corruption and demoralization.

Thus any high tax or other highly restrictive plan is sure to maintain a profit-margin which gives an opening and a lure for the bootlegger—just as in Canada today. At the same time, a low tax or any free-for-all plan threatens to debauch the people, to say nothing of killing off the country's motorists. ("The worse combination I know," many workers have told me, "is gas in the tank and alky in the tummy.")

6. Straight thinking, finally, does indicate pretty surely that the straight-ahead of complete enforcement depends largely upon that earlier mentioned "if"—"if public sentiment could be aroused"—and this holds true probably in spite of the fact that the country has begun to see something like well planned, source-drying enforcement only since the installing of civil service and of Colonel Woodcock on July 1, 1931.

7. This *"if"* of public opinion is pretty surely the crux of the present critical situation. But of that crux the further crux is, I am constrained to believe, none other than Mrs. Grundy. I mean the social arbiter not of the great majority of us but of our well educated, though comparatively unnumerous, white-collared friends and neighbors. For she it is who, by inviting John Barleycorn into her parlor, invites Tony Bootlegger onto his throne.

8. That throne is, of course, completely repugnant to a free and democratic people: it is entirely (*Continued on page* 244)

YOU WON'T BUY THIS BOOK

unless it contains something that will be definitely useful to you in the problems that are upon all of us today—helpful in the problems of your vocation and your avocations.

SUCCESSFUL LIVING IN THIS MACHINE AGE

by Edward A. Filene

was written to give just such help. Letters praising its usefulness have been received from

Jane Addams	Will Durant
John Dewey	James Harvey Robinson
Rev. Charles S. Macfarland	Lincoln Steffens
Norman Thomas	David S. Muzzey
Henry S. Dennison	Rev. Ralph W. Sockman
James T. Shotwell	Joseph Jastrow
Glenn Frank	Frederick P. Keppel
Rev. S. Parkes Cadman	Ernest G. Draper
Henry N. McCracken	Joseph H. Willits

and many, many other leaders in various fields of work.

The author, feeling that the book has a special appeal and value to social workers and educators, and their problems, has arranged for a *discount of 50% from its list price* to workers in these fields.

Order "SUCCESSFUL LIVING IN THIS MACHINE AGE" today by sending $1.25 to the publishers, Simon & Schuster, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York.

SURVEY READERS ARE CORDIALLY INVITED TO THE

JUNE CONFERENCE

League for Industrial Democracy

at Camp Tamiment, Forest Park, Pa.

(near Stroudsburg)

Thurs., June 23d to Sunday, June 26th, 1932

Subject:

"SOCIALIST PLANNING FOR AMERICA"

Speakers: Norman Thomas, Paul Blanshard, Eveline Burns, Morris Hillquit (probably), Isador Lubin, J. B. Matthews, Colston E. Warne, Pierce Williams, B. Charney Vladeck, Louis Waldman, Andrew Biemiller, Felix S. Cohen, Karl Borders, Coleman B. Cheney, Clarence Senior, McAlister Coleman, Harry W. Laidler, and others.

For further information write

League for Industrial Democracy
112 East 19th Street
New York City

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Studies in Adult Education

Educational Experiments in Industry

by NATHANIEL PEFFER

WHAT is the education offered by modern industrial corporations to their employees? Here is a study in cross-section of the efforts made by various industries to instruct their workers along purely cultural lines as well as along lines of training on the job for the job. The whole inquiry shows clearly what are the possibilities of education for workers, and what has already been accomplished in that direction. Published May 3. $1.50

Other Titles in the Series

Adult Learning by E. L. Thorndike and others	$2.25
Libraries and Adult Education by A.L.A.	$2.50
The University Afield by A. L. Hall-Quest	$3.00
New Schools for Older Students by Nathaniel Peffer	$2.50
Correspondence Schools, Lyceums, Chautauquas by J. C. Noffsinger	$1.50
Reading Interests and Habits of Adults by W. S. Gray and R. Munroe	$3.50
Educational Opportunities for Young Workers by O. D. Evans	$3.00
Urban Influence on Higher Education in England and the United States by P. R. Kolbe	$2.00
The Making of Adult Minds in the Metropolitan Area by Frank Lorimer	$2.00

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

DIRECTORY OF SOCIAL AGENCIES
NEW YORK
39th ed. 1932

A consolidated, classified and descriptive directory of social agencies serving the City of New York. The handbook of social workers, teachers, doctors, lawyers, donors, and others in need of information as to the social service resources of New York. For fifty years one of the activities of the Charity Organization Society.

850 *pages* Cloth $3.00

Published by the
CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY, 105 East 22nd St., New York

WORLD UNITY

The magazine which records progress toward world community and a humanized civilization. *Sample copy, free. Important reprints:* Reading List of Current Books on Internationalism, 5c; Building Up the International Mind, by H. A. Overstreet, 5c; Education for Human Brotherhood, by Rufus M. Jones, 5c. *Free booklet on request.*
WORLD UNITY, 4 East 12th Street, New York City.

(*Continued from page* 243)

understandable how any and every good citizen should feel that almost no price is too great to pay for its overthrow. As long, therefore, as Mrs. Grundy insists that the serving of hard liquor as a mere social condiment in her drawing-room gives her more satisfaction than the serving of bread and butter on the tables of the country's workers, that throne of Tony Gangster is likely to remain intact:—even though real progress is being quietly made it is probably too much to expect enforcement, single-handed and alone, to overthrow it. And with that throne thus bolstered by the largesse of Upper-class Fashion the movement away from prohibition in one direction or another, within a fairly short time, is made, I regret to admit, more or less likely—a majority's deep-going improvement sacrificed, so it would appear, for the sake of a minority's superficial plaything.

OUT FROM CONFUSION

(*Continued from page* 227)

the physician, the lawyer, consider the prominent contributors. They are on the whole cultured, educated, soft-spoken, emotionally controlled, not given to open quarreling, good-willed, sympathetic, cooperative. But what are their *real* interests? Have you worked with them long enough to note the aggression in them? In defense of what and in protection from what do they become "practical," begin to quibble, split hairs?

As between them and the gangster there will be this difference. The gangster is open and aboveboard with his aggression. He is out to get all he can, is proud of his prowess and has little sense of guilt. He is not morally confused, he is confused only when he finds that we consider him bad. Our eminent board member, on the other hand, is humiliated by his aggressive tendencies, endeavors to hide them from others and himself, denies them, rationalizes them, dissembles, is disingenuous, intellectually dishonest, shrewd, perhaps sharp, clever, subtle. Having to deal now not only with his aggression but with guilt and fear, he becomes morally confused and ends in being the strange unpredictable person we know him to be with softnesses that shock us and hardnesses that startle us. But, with all, no matter how gentle, he is an aggressive individual as a little observation will abundantly prove. Openly, or more often subtly, but just as surely, he exploits others and under the skin there is no difference between him and the gangster except that his moral confusion sometimes robs him of his courage.

The staff of your own organization—what are their *real* interests? How are they forwarding those interests? Although you have not analyzed the situation, your experience with them has taught you to trust them insofar as the organization and yourself are concerned, just how far? And in relation to them and the organization just how far do you trust yourself?

Form a committee of the leading men and women of this Conference. Observe that committee at work. Disregard the politeness, courtesy, graciousness they show to each other, just listen; listen, observe and try to understand. And understanding, understand ourselves, for if less able in other matters in this we are but like them.

I am not speaking cynically. Again I am not pointing out hypocrisy or a situation that must be considered scandalous. This is all a part of a social order in which the best are caught and cannot extricate themselves. It is to the system and the principles and concepts of that system that one would call attention. One describes only to try to understand. One does not choose the members of the National Conference of Social Work as illustrations because they are our most outstanding examples. They are representative of the best and finest in citizenship that we have. There are far more obvious examples that each reader can supply for himself. One chooses them because they are representatives of our finest and best; we will understand our worst better if we understand our best first.

We, representative of the best citizenship, are exploiters. Back of all we do is exploitation, profit at the expense of others. Our social philosophy encourages it in the name of individual freedom. If man is to take charge of his world, as he has done in Russia, aggression against others, profit at the expense of others, exploitation must come to (*Continued on page* 248)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EDUCATIONAL DIRECTORY
SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

Smith College School *for* Social Work

Courses in

SOCIAL PSYCHIATRY, MEDICINE, SOCIOLOGY, PSYCHOLOGY, GOVERNMENT, CASE WORK

Leading to the degree of

MASTER OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

Students enrolled for the full course are assigned to a social agency for a period of nine months' supervised intensive field work.

A summer course of eight weeks is open to experienced social workers.

Address

THE DIRECTOR

College Hall 8, Northampton, Mass.

The Pennsylvania School of Social and Health Work

The two-year program of graduate training for principal fields of social work offers two years of personal and professional development in a highly organized, progressive, challenging social work center.

311 South Juniper Street, Philadelphia, Penna.

Northwestern University

College of Liberal Arts

Department of Sociology and Anthropology offers for 1932-1933

Professional Training for Social Service Group Work and Recreation

Family Case Work: Domestic Discord Problems, Personality Problems in Family Case Work

Write for further information and special bulletins

Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois

Simmons College School of Social Work

BOSTON

Professional Training in the Fields of

Medical Social Work
Psychiatric Social Work
Family Welfare
Child Welfare
Community Work
Leading to the degree of B.S. and M.S.

Address

THE DIRECTOR

18 Somerset Street Boston, Massachusetts

HOME-STUDY

Columbia University Home Study Courses

A wide variety of practical as well as cultural subjects, specially prepared for study through correspondence under guidance of the University teaching staff.

For full information address

Home Study Department SG, Columbia University
New York City

GOING ABROAD?

Follow the Traveler's Notebook (pages 249-250 this issue) for interesting items regarding places, people and convention doings.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

National University *of* Mexico

TWELFTH SUMMER SESSION

June 29 to August 20

Plan now for your summer vacation

Attend the Summer School of the oldest University on the American continent.

The National University of Mexico offers professors and students of Spanish a wonderful opportunity.

Apply for catalogue

Ribera de San Cosme No. 71
Mexico City, Mexico

The University of Chicago

School of Social Service Administration

***Summer Quarter* 1932**

***First Term June* 20 - *July* 22**
***Second Term July* 25 - *August* 26**

***Academic Year* 1932-33 *begins October* 1, 1932**

Courses leading to the degree of A.M. and Ph.D.

Qualified undergraduate students admitted as candidates for the Ph.B. degree

Announcements on request

School of Nursing of Yale University

A Profession for the College Woman

interested in the modern, scientific agencies of social service.

The thirty months course, providing an intensive and varied experience through the case study method, leads to the degree of

BACHELOR OF NURSING

Present study body includes graduates of leading colleges. Two or more years of approved college work required for admission. A few scholarships available for students with advanced qualifications.

The educational facilities of Yale University are open to qualified students.

For catalog and information address:

THE DEAN
The School of Nursing of Yale University
NEW HAVEN : CONNECTICUT

Do You Use Negro Social Workers With Your Negro Clients?

Do You Know

I. Experience seems to indicate that the best work among Negro clients is done by Negro social workers.

II. The majority of Negroes in northern communities come from the South.

III. Negro social workers are best equipped for efficient service when they have some southern training.

The Atlanta School of Social Work is situated in the heart of the South. Its curriculum gives all the fundamental technique obtained in any school of social work and special attention is given to equipping students for working among Negroes in both northern and southern communities.

WHY NOT LET US SUPPLY ONE OF OUR GRADUATES FOR YOUR NEGRO WORK?

For Further Information, Address the Director

FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON, A.M.
Atlanta School of Social Work
Atlanta, Georgia.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington University

GEORGE WARREN BROWN
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK

Courses of Training in
CHILD WELFARE
FAMILY CASE WORK
MEDICAL SOCIAL WORK

COURSE OF TRAINING LEADS TO THE BACHELOR OF SCIENCE AND MASTER OF SCIENCE DEGREES

Scholarships are available for properly qualified graduate students.

Address the Director
WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
ST. LOUIS, MO.

Loyola University
School of Social Work
Chicago

Professional courses for education and training for social work are offered, which, for graduate students, lead to the Master's degree.

Undergraduate students with two years of college work who otherwise qualify, may enter the course as candidates for the Bachelor's degree.

SUMMER QUARTER OPENS JUNE 27, 1932

Bulletins and further information on request

28 North Franklin Street, Chicago

NINE out of ten students enrolled at the School are college graduates; more than one out of four have had previous graduate training, and almost half have had previous experience in social work.

The Summer Quarter begins June thirteenth.

The New York School of Social Work
122 East Twenty-Second Street
New York

Cultural
TRAVEL IN EUROPE

A delightful summer of travel through the Old World—combined with certain educational goals—here is reason enough to lure us down to the sea in ships! To fully realize the many educational and cultural benefits of travel is the high purpose behind the group of eight Educational Tours offered by the Intercollegiate Travel Extension Service of the American Express Company.

Points that will appeal to intelligent travelers:

a cultural subject for each tour: art—music—psychology—agriculture, industry, architecture, education and social welfare

interesting itineraries worked out with special reference to the subjects emphasized on each tour

educational directors who are authorities in their fields as well as experienced travelers

an opportunity to gain academic credits on most of the tours

Though specially planned to fit the needs of social workers, educators and advanced students, the appeal of these tours is not limited. All are welcome who are sincerely interested in the purpose and ideals of this enjoyable, valuable form of travel.

Booklets have been prepared on each Educational Tour, also a summary of all the tours. Won't you write us?

SURVEY GRAPHIC
Travel Department
112 E. 19th St. New York, N. Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Progressive Schools and Camps

BIRCH WATHEN SCHOOL

Coeducational Day School

Pre School
Elementary
High School

149 West 93rd
New York City
Tel. River. 9-0314

The Walden School

Nursery Through High School

Boys and Girls

Training Course for Student Teachers

In this modern school children create for themselves a varied and colorful world and develop knowledge and initiative through their own eager interests.

Write for Booklet: 34 West 68th Street New York

SUMMER AT LOCUST FARM

200 acres—Berkshire Foot Hills—65 miles from New York City
30 boys and girls—ages 3 to 14.

Small groups—Skillful leaders—Flexible schedule—Creative Activities—Established 1924 (Beulah Amidon knows us).

Write to

CLARINDA C. RICHARDS, Poughquag, N. Y.

MANUMIT FARM AND SUMMER SCHOOL

In the foothills of the Berkshires. Experimental, co-educational. Real life activities. Haying, animal care, outdoor construction. Arts, crafts, and music. Swimming, hiking, and camping. July 5th to August 30th. 8 to 15 years, $250. Student teachers, $125. For complete catalog, write

Nellie M. Seeds, Ph.d., Pawling, New York

FORK UNION MILITARY ACADEMY

Fully accredited. Prepares for college or business. Able faculty. Small classes. Supervised study. Lower School for small boys in new separate building. Housemother. R. O. T. C. Fireproof buildings. Inside swimming pool. All athletics. Best health record. Catalog 35th year. Dr. J. J. Wicker, Pres., Col. N. J. Perkins, H. M. Box Fork Union, Virginia.

COOPERATIVE SCHOOL FOR STUDENT TEACHERS

SUMMER SCHOOL FOR TEACHERS AND PARENTS
JULY 5 - AUGUST 13, 1932

COURSE FOR STUDENT TEACHERS OCT. - JUNE 1932-33

Seminar courses and classroom participation

69 BANK STREET NEW YORK CITY

(*Continued from page* 244)

an end. This would seem to be a primary, fundamental and self-evident proposition. Arguments as to what would happen to "freedom," "individualism," "initiative" are without point. These things must take their chances; must take their place as they can. These ideals are the result of men's desires to free themselves from exploitation. They are without value if they lead only to freedom for further exploitation. A freedom which merely means a freedom to exploit under conditions named by the free, is no freedom.

It is not likely that this lesson will be learned easily. We have not to do here with gentle matters that can be dealt with around a conference table, settled by a friendly agreement and the passage of a new law. We have to do with fundamental, even elemental forces, forces that in the beginning probably will yield only to force. And when the time comes that men throw over their false gods and illusions and themselves take charge on a realistic basis, intellect and culture will not be a saving grace. An individual's ability to keep his hands off others is not to be measured by the size of his intellect or the thickness of his culture.

Social schemes that fail to recognize the fundamental situation and that either blindly or openly try merely to rearrange balances of power change nothing. Because of this we can have little faith in measures that are being proposed at the present time. We have begun to hear much of economic planning. Russia, we believe, has brought herself out of chaos through economic planning. After our years of doubt, even scorn and hatred of Russia, we see that such planning is the only sensible way. But it is a serious mistake to think that what Russia has accomplished has been accomplished through economic planning. As so often in America, we are distracted by the big, spectacular thing and miss the chief point. Russia's success is due to the philosophy that lies back of her economic planning. The very thing that Russia scrapped in order to make her planning feasible and meaningful we retain—so far as any mention of the matter has been made—and hope by a mere social manoeuver to bring success that has come elsewhere only through a complete change in social philosophy. Economic planning as we see it in Russia is indeed a stupendous thing in itself, but it is not the biggest or the most important accomplishment in Russia.

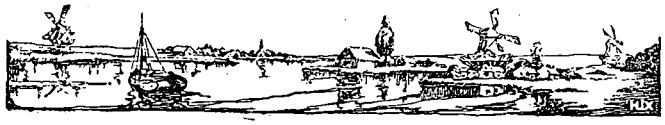
WE are undoubtedly capable of making such a plan but until the men who are to carry out the plan from the business administrators to the men at lathe or loom are agreed *not only to the plan*—that would not be so difficult, perhaps—but to *what the plan signifies* the plan would have less chance than prohibition in New York City. Such planning means either a complete change in social philosophy or an authority sufficiently great to enforce the plan once adopted regardless of what any individual thinks of it. With all our experience we do not seem even yet to have learned that a plan alien to the philosophy of the people upon whom it is inflicted will not work. Our present economic disorganization is not an accident or oversight but a product of our social philosophy. It is as indigenous as a pine tree in Maine. Economic planning is as alien as cocoanut palms on the shores of Lake Michigan.

For the same reason one has little confidence in unemployment insurance or any of the other "justice"-bringing schemes. This is just barter and trade. Someone must pay. Those who pay will pay as little as they can, those paid will obtain as much as they can. The fundamental situation remains exactly where it was before. The only change is that those who have, have a little (very little) less; those who haven't, have a little (very little) more. And the world goes on until we can think up some other scheme—always a scheme, a plan, some manoeuver, a shifting of this and that on the uppermost surface of things unaware that the cause of our difficulty lies not in economics and social what-not but in our fundamental concepts regarding men and in our own illusions and the social philosophy we have constructed out of these concepts and illusions.

Is it freedom and right to individuality that we strive for—freedom to live out our own individual lives with some degree of satisfaction both for ourselves and others? If so, we look in the wrong direction for freedom. What we have not yet learned is that there can be no group freedom or individual freedom within the group until (*Continued on page* 253)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Traveler's Notebook



Tours

DR. FRANKWOOD E. WILLIAMS (Open Road, 56 West 45 Street, New York) will conduct a social workers' group through Russia. Those who have been following his brilliant series of articles in Survey Graphic on the social changes that are going forward in the U.S.S.R. will know what a rare opportunity this is. Other groups range from highschool students who will observe the workings of national and international relations, to vacation seekers who will bus-ride, bike or hike through France, medieval Brittany, the Pyrenees.

INTOURIST, INC. (261 Fifth Avenue, New York) literature certainly provokes that go-places-and-do-things feeling, viz.—Turkestan tours, which go far into the heart of ancient Asia toward the fabulous cities of Samarkand and Bokhara, over the Golden Road that Marco Polo followed on his way to the court of the Great Khan in far Cathay; a hunting and exploration cruise of the Soviet icebreaker Maligin, which last year carried American tourists within five hundred miles of the North Pole, discovered four new islands, and met the Graf Zeppelin. The passengers shot more than a dozen huge polar bears without stepping off the boat's deck. This summer, Professor Vize, the seasoned Arctic explorer and scientist who directs the cruise, expects to reach Lonely Island, which has been visited but once before in history. Ninety-six United States groups are slated to sail for Russia.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM (1924 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia) is sponsoring a peace study tour of France, Switzerland, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Russia, Finland and Germany.

LEHIGH VALLEY RAILROAD (143 Liberty Street, New York) has issued a schedule of special weekend, thirty-day round trip, and longer-limit excursion rates to Niagara Falls, Chicago, Colorado, New Mexico and the Pacific Coast; as well as trips along the Great Lakes, Thousand Islands, Saguenay River and Canada.

MRS. NELLIE M. MIRANDA, president of the Richland County Social Workers' Club (1121 Gervais Street, Columbia, S. C.), is organizing a general tour for the American Express Company following the Second International Conference of Social Work in Frankfurt. The countries to be visited are Germany, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, France and England.

WARD LINE (545 Fifth Avenue, New York City) has just issued a very colorful folder of sailings to Havana and Mexico City, via Vera Cruz, during the summer. From July 2 through September 3 there will be 6½ day cruises to Havana leaving every Saturday.

Gleanings

IT seems some of the British railroads issue "go anywhere tickets" during the summer for next to nothing. One man gratefully wrote the London, Midland and Scottish Railway that at the cost of ten shillings (approximately $2.50), he had traveled over a distance of 1100 miles in Lancashire and the Lake District, enjoying the beauty of sea, moorland, mountain, and seeing many places he never thought he would be able to.

OPEN ROAD SERVICES
in Europe and Russia

◆ Itineraries which balance sightseeing and specific interests, foreign contacts and independent leisure. ◆ Companionship with like-minded travelers. ◆ Distinguished auspices here and abroad. ◆ Novel arrangements in *group* and *independent* travel.

SOCIAL WORK IN SOVIET RUSSIA with attendance at the International Conference of Social Work, Frankfurt, Germany. Leader: DR. FRANKWOOD E. WILLIAMS. Sails July 1, returns August 27. $790.

CHANGES IN PROGRESS IN EUROPE AND RUSSIA [Auspices League for Industrial Democracy]. Leader: J. B. MATTHEWS. Sails June 30, returns September 11. $467.

Over 50 other trips to choose from, or you may travel on your own.

The OPEN ROAD
56 West 45th Street, New York

EUROPE 25 DAYS $147
slash!
Go Rates on Student Tours
6 COUNTRIES $175 | ALL EXPENSES LAND AND
9 COUNTRIES $245 | SEA. Send for New Booklet
ALLEN TOURS, 154 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.
23,000 SATISFIED GUESTS
New York—580 Fifth Avenue

FRIENDSHIP TOURS
"To widen the mind's horizon—"
TOURS OF RUSSIA UNDER SELECTED LEADERSHIP—LOWEST COST—
SAILINGS JUNE 7, 15, JULY 9, AUGUST 13.
For booklet address,
136 Berkeley Place Brooklyn, N. Y.

Europe on Wheels, Inc.
Cars to Drive Yourself—Cars with Chauffeur.
Complete motor service for all of Europe.
218 Madison Ave., New York; 14 Regent St., London;
4 Rue Daunou, Paris.

POCONO STUDY TOURS
55 West 42nd Street
New York City
Three Months European Study and Travel, including International Conference at Frankfurt.
June 28—September 26.
Inclusive Cost $390.
Telephone:
Penn. 6-3297

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ADULT CAMP

DECORATION DAY

- The most modern and complete adult camp in the Adirondacks . . . . . .

PRIVATE GOLF COURSE

Telephone Chestertown 37

- Write for booklet . . .

Directors

Lena Barish • Sam Garlen

11 W. 42 ST., N.Y. CH. 4-1345

GREEN MANSIONS

WARRENSBURG N.Y.

RESORTS

UNITY HOUSE

FOREST PARK, PENNSYLVANIA

Write for booklet—3 W. 16th St., N. Y. C., CHelsea 3-2148

Decoration Day Week-End

3 full days . . Giant Gala Program. $10

Reduced fare, round trip including bus, $5.

Features of the Season

FREE BOATING, improved waterfront, more and better tennis courts, excellent cuisine, enlarged orchestra. Operated on a non-profit basis.

Western View Farm

¶ An ideal place for a Spring vacation, whether it be for a week-end or an extended visit.

¶ Rates $8.00 a day or $49.00 a week. Send for new booklet.

Address EDWARD G. OHMER

New Milford, Conn. Telephone, New Milford 440

Have you Property to sell ?

—Cottages to rent

Advertise in the CLASSIFIED SECTION of SURVEY GRAPHIC or MIDMONTHLY

Rates: 30 cents a line; $4.20 per inch

SURVEY GRAPHIC, 112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y.

An International Summer School of Dancing will be held at Buxton, the Derbyshire Spa, July 25-August 20. Exponents of the dance from the Far East, the Near East, the Mary Wigman and Ruth St. Denis schools will be on the teaching staff. And John Martin, dancing critic of the New York Times, has promised to lecture.

One of the most striking features at Stratford-on-Avon this season will be the new Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, with its ample lobbies, its terraces and promenades along the Avon, its cafés, and its sliding rather than revolving stage. Morris Gilbert writes, "With the repertoire varying night by night a week in Stratford is like a Shakespearean lexicon—a gamut from grave to gay, all tuned by the charm of the surrounding country and the placid quiet of the Avon."

It is reported in Science News Letter that in 120 years of immigration the United States has received the greatest number of people, in the order given, from Germany, Italy and Ireland; that on passenger liners now being built, the weather (indoors) will be kept regularly "fine" by means of air-conditioning apparatus; that a German firm making photographic accessories has produced a filmpack slide with a locking device, which makes double exposures impossible; that three stone martens from the mountains of Czechoslovakia have been bought for use at the government's fur-animal experiment station at Saratoga Springs, New York; that American archaeologists excavating the market place of Athens hope this year to bring to light the Senate House and the Temple of the Mother of the Gods; that a museum of costumes, showing the history of dress, is to be established near Paris; that an expedition is attempting to climb the south peak of Mount McKinley, in Alaska, a goal which has only been achieved once.

Stockholm boasts of the largest collection of oriental insects, having recently added six thousand specimens from the Kurile Islands. Entomologists from all over the world have made pilgrimages to the Swedish Museum of Natural History.

There is an American branch of the India Bureau in Philadelphia (6369 McCallum Street—E. Fitz-Maurice, secretary). While the Bureau aims to spread accurate information about India, it is also interested in promoting the ideas, life and thought of other peoples; and publishes a journal called India and the World.

Ellery Walter, whom Mussolini characterized as "the supreme adventurer," perhaps tops the list of the William B. Feakins, Inc. (500 Fifth Avenue, New York) lecturers for next year. He will spend six months or so in Europe and will have much to tell, chiefly about the German Youth Movement. For the last two seasons he appeared under the auspices of the League for Political Action, Town Hall, New York.

Three distinguished foreign visitors will be available through the Institute of International Education (2 West 45 Street, New York). They are the former German minister of foreign affairs, Dr. Julius Curtius, who will speak on the reparations question, Germany and disarmament, the Customs Union, and Germany's domestic and foreign economic policies; Alfred W. Flux, assistant secretary of the statistical department of the British Board of Trade, who will discuss the present currency problems, both national and international; and Dr. Fritz Rager, secretary of the Austrian Chamber of Labor, who is an authority on unemployment insurance and conversant with the various social experiments carried on in that country in recent years.

You can attend the International Union Against Tuberculosis at the Hague next September 6-9 at greatly reduced rates by applying to the National Tuberculosis Association—Mr. Fred Hopkins, 450 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(*Continued from page* 248) the group is composed of spiritually free individuals. This is a matter that can only be touched upon here. Our bondage is to ourselves. It is first from ourselves that we must free ourselves. An individual's freedom comes first from within, secondly from without. Man out of his own illusions in regard to himself has himself forged the chains that make freedom impossible. Recognizing his aggressive tendencies and fearing them, he has attempted to outlaw them. They remain outlawed but no less effective and controlling. What goes out the back door comes in through the front door. Full of fears of himself, of guilt, unworthiness, inferiority created within him by the necessity made upon him to deny and hide what cannot really be hidden, his relations to others becomes self-conscious. These relations can never be frank and honest. He must dissemble and try to be and to be doing what is expected of him. Eventually he deceives himself but there is constant danger of exposure either to others or, probably more disturbing, to himself. Most of his energy is consumed in the conflict. His fear drives him to seek security —where he will never find it—outside himself in defensive-offensive group alliances with laws, rules, regulations and eventually armies, and to sanctify in the name of group law and order the very thing he has been fleeing from. The situation is largely artificial and unnecessary. We have created the situation for ourselves by letting men in the name of God tell us what they did not know and devise a scheme of life for us. We can at least now see the pass to which we have come.

But how are we to obtain this spiritual freedom that will make a social freedom possible? Shall we look to the psychiatrists? It is our present method. Were there a thousand able psychiatrists for every one that now exists we should not touch the situation. With spiritually crippled individuals being turned out by the hopperful, what opportunity, on a scale to be socially significant, has an individual, clinical method even under the best of circumstances, and when that work must be done in the atmosphere of the factory that created the condition—what can be said? We have a right to be appreciative of such organizations as child-guidance clinics. They are a partial salvation for individuals but they are not even the beginning of a social salvation. Individual, clinical methods as a method of social prophylaxis will go with its civilization. Only a hygiene of society itself will meet the situation.

IN that hygiene of society there will no doubt be many steps but among these steps certainly will be to agree to be human beings together; in the interests of us all, to bring present aggression under control and to keep it under control, not being afraid in our collective interest to use force where necessary; so to organize our human life together that the mechanics of life can be brought to a minimum, leaving the major portion of our time to live our lives as we see fit, barring only the exploitation of others. Out of such a life with the realistic philosophy that would motivate it might come individuals spiritually free and therefore able to be socially free and able also to allow others to be free.

When, untroubled by internal conflicts, when no longer individually in the grip of guilts and fears and inferiority—and reacting regardless of the situation to these and to these alone —a group of men sit about a table; when no man in the group is a challenge to any other man in the group because each man is secure within himself and is psychologically dependent upon no other, men can be honest—they have no reason, conscious or unconscious, to be dishonest; they can be generous, for they do not need to fear generosity; they can accept the individuality of others because there would be no reason not to do so. The individuality, the freedom we seek is possible only among such men. Such men—and most, perhaps all, men have the potentiality of such men—can never be as long as we maintain a society fostered on illusions that destroy men's potentiality and that deceives itself in thinking that it is working towards goodness when it is working only towards being polite and towards freedom when that freedom is only freedom to exploit. All that men know about their world they have learned themselves; "God" has told them nothing. The only thing that "God" has told them that they still believe is about themselves; let them now investigate that matter.

MRS. MICHELEWSKI IS MRS. MICHAELS NOW

She's changed her name—because she wants to be "American." That was easy. In time, she'll change other things—her ways of living, her methods of keeping house. But that part is easier said than done.

One way you can give Mrs. Michaels a helping hand is to show her simpler, quicker ways to get through with her housework.

In this matter, Fels-Naptha will be of help to you—and *extra* help to Mrs. Michaels. For its good golden soap and plenty of naptha, working together, get things quickly clean, thoroughly clean—without hard rubbing. And in cool water, too—which is especially welcome where hot water is scarce. No matter what the name—no matter what the conditions—Fels-Naptha gives *extra* help!

Write Fels & Co., Philadelphia, Pa., for a sample bar of Fels-Naptha, mentioning the Survey Graphic.

FELS-NAPTHA

THE GOLDEN BAR WITH THE CLEAN NAPTHA ODOR

"MODERN HOME EQUIPMENT"

Our new booklet is a carefully selected list of the practical equipment needed in an average-sized home. It is invaluable, alike to new and to experienced housekeepers—already in its eleventh edition. It considers in turn the kitchen, pantry, dining room, general cleaning equipment and the laundry, and gives the price of each article mentioned.

Ask for Booklet S—it will be sent postpaid.

LEWIS & CONGER

45th Street and Sixth Avenue, New York City

CURIOUS BOOKS

Send for free catalogue of Privately Printed

BOOKS

Limited Editions
Unexpurgated Items
Illustrated

Boutique Tokio

THE FALSTAFF PRESS

Dept. G.S. 260 Fifth Avenue, New York

SPEAKERS: We assist in preparing special articles, papers, speeches, debates. Expert scholarly service. AUTHOR'S RESEARCH BUREAU. 516 Fifth Avenue, New York.

SUBSCRIBE HERE

The Survey—Twice a Month—$5.00 (including the Graphic)

Survey Graphic—Monthly—$3.00

Survey Associates, Inc., 112 East 19th St., New York

Name..... Address..... 6-1-32

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Rates: Display: 30 cents a line. 14 agate lines to the inch. Want advertisements eight cents per word or initial, including address or box number. Minimum charge, first insertion, $1.50. Cash with orders. Discounts: 5% on three insertions; 10% on six insertions. Address Advertising Department.

TEL: ALGONQUIN 7490 **THE SURVEY** 112 EAST 19th STREET NEW YORK CITY

SITUATIONS WANTED

WOMAN EXECUTIVE, Jewess, with fourteen years' experience in children's institutional and settlement work desires change of position. Attractive personality, ability, excellent educational background. References from national experts. 6975 SURVEY.

EXECUTIVE and Campaign Director with eleven years' tuberculosis experience wants tuberculosis or community chest connection. References. 7023 SURVEY.

EXPERIENCED Social Worker, holding B.A. Degree, desires position with small children in settlement. Has case work experience. Converses in three Slavic languages. 7024 SURVEY.

CASE-WORK SUPERVISOR. Well equipped and successful in family and children's field. 7026 Survey.

FAMILY or psychiatric social service position wanted. College graduate, 1932, B.S. Degree. Year's training at School of Social Work. 7027 Survey.

EXPERIENCED TEACHER, graduate of Normal School, Kindergarten experience, desires position tutoring children, ages 6-12 or grades 1-5. 7028 Survey.

EXPERIENCED WORKER with dependent and delinquent boys wishes position. Age 36. Will locate anywhere. Excellent references. 7020 SURVEY.

TEACHER with valid license and six years' experience desires position tutoring a sub-normal child. 7029 SURVEY.

YOUNG MAN, 26, college graduate with training and several years' experience in social case work; especially qualified as worker with boys, transients or homeless men. Good cultural background, intelligent, sympathetic, capable, understanding. Willing locate anywhere. 7017 SURVEY.

COULD YOU USE THIS MAN?

He is a graduate of Harvard College and the Harvard Law School. Under 40,—in the prime of life. Has had an active career in business and public affairs. Possesses the type of ability, tact and rich experience that should strongly appeal to those seeking an able worker and administrator.

He knows social work and organization problems. His practical training was gained at Hull House, Chicago,—and at Hale House, Boston. He served as assistant to the Director of Organization in two Presidential Campaigns, and during the war, was assistant to the Director of Organization, American Red Cross, N. E. Div. For two years he was associated with the National Industrial Conference Board in economic research work. For the past 10 years he has headed a national business, in charge of management, sales, advertising, publicity, etc.

He seeks an association where his talents could be used to the best advantage. Salary is entirely secondary to a real opportunity for accomplishing a real job, and working into something that promises permanency and a career. His record will be backed by the highest testimonials. Replies will be treated in confidence. Address 7012 SURVEY.

WORKERS WANTED

WANTED: Experienced Director of Girls' Work in Jewish Community Center in New York City. 7025 SURVEY.

SITUATIONS WANTED

ENGLISHWOMAN, interested in literary work, excellent typist and stenographer, publicity and promotion expert, also with knowledge of running a house and interested in all phases of life, wants to get outlet for these miscellaneous gifts. Versatile and pleasant personality. 7030 SURVEY.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY. Well informed on social work, good educational background, would like to assist in any progressive work. Good promoter. Understands publicity. 7031 SURVEY.

EXECUTIVE

Married man, college education, extensive experience, capable administrator, pleasing personality, desires position as Institutional Executive. Highest references. 6999 SURVEY.

Position as HOUSEMOTHER in Camp or Children's Institution by ex-teacher with social work training. Mid-West or Southwest preferred. 7013 SURVEY.

ADMINISTRATOR'S GUIDE

ENGRAVING

THE HUGHES ENGRAVING CO., INC.
Photo Engraving Specialists, 140 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Plates that print. Ask The Survey about us. Platemakers for Survey Midmonthly and Survey Graphic.

SUPPLYING INSTITUTIONAL TRADE

SEEMAN BROS., Inc.
Groceries
Hudson and North Moore Streets
New York

Do You Need

Institution Executives
Superintendents
Housekeepers
Matrons
Domestic Help
Nurses
Physicians
Teachers
Tutors
Personnel Managers
Industrial Welfare Workers
Recreation Workers
Boys' Club Workers
Girls' Club Workers
Social Case Workers
Office Executives

An ad in the Survey's classified department will bring results. Rates: 8c a word, minimum charge $1.50 an insertion.

THE SURVEY
112 E. 19 St. New York

Your Own Agency

This is the counseling and placement agency sponsored jointly by the American Association of Social Workers and the National Organization for Public Health Nursing. National. Non-profit making.

Booklet sent upon request.

Joint Vocational Service
(Agency)
130 East 22nd St. New York

GERTRUDE R. STEIN, Inc.
VOCATIONAL SERVICE AGENCY
18 EAST 41ST STREET, NEW YORK
Lexington 2-6677
We are interested in placing those who have a professional attitude towards their work. Executive secretaries, stenographers, case workers, hospital social service workers, settlement directors; research, immigration, psychiatric, personnel workers and others.

PUBLICITY SERVICE

NEED MONEY? **NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE** Agencies are buying our LISTS of known givers and other persons of wealth and culture. 30,000 New England names typed on 3x5 index cards as ordered. **Ask prices. Publicity Service Bureau, Boston, Mass.**

REAL ESTATE

SEVERAL FARMS, with many possibilities, for sale in Bucks County, Pa., including old style houses, streams, woodland and scenery. Prices very reasonable. We may have what you desire. JOHN MARTIN, Upper Black Eddy, Pennsylvania.

APARTMENT TO RENT

For Rent from June to October, one room apartment, housekeeping privileges, located 8 blocks from Grand Central. Apply Room 710—105 East 22nd Street, or telephone Gramercy 5-1454.

SUMMER BOARD

MAINE: Why not spend your summer in the country on the open ocean? Rates $18.00 and $20.00. **Louise Spilman, The Breakers, Vinalhaven, Maine.**

THE SURVEY
New York City
Advertising Department

"Last summer I advertised in your columns with success;—that is, I secured the type of people I was seeking. This year I am sending another advertisement."

Write for the

Survey Book Exhibit

Books displayed at the National Conference of Social Work
May 16-21, 1932

The Survey Book Department
112 E. 19th St., New York, N. Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PAMPHLETS

RATES: 75c per actual line for 4 insertions

UNEMPLOYMENT AND ITS REMEDIES (25c), PUBLIC OWNERSHIP (15c), HOW AMERICA LIVES (15c), OLD AGE SECURITY (10c), THE NEW CAPITALISM (10c), POOR OLD COMPETITION (10c), WASTE AND THE MACHINE AGE (15c). Address League for Industrial Democracy, 112 E. 19th Street, New York.

PERIODICALS

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NURSING shows the part which trained nurses are taking in the betterment of the world. Put it in your library. $3.00 a year. 450 Seventh Ave., New York N. Y.

MENTAL HYGIENE: quarterly: $3.00 a year published by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 450 Seventh Ave., New York.

Please Remit

cash with order in sending Classified Advertisements to Survey Graphic or Survey Midmonthly.

Address

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING DEPT.
112 East 19th St. New York City

MULTIGRAPHING
TYPEWRITING
PRINTING

MIMEOGRAPHING
ADDRESSING
MAILING

Better, Cheaper, Quicker

We have complete equipment and an expert staff to do your
Mimeographing
Multigraphing
Addressing
Mailing

If you will investigate you will find that we can do it better, quicker and *cheaper* than you can in your own office.

Let us estimate on your next job

Webster Letter Addressing & Mailing Company
34th Street at 8th Avenue
Medalion 1473

Hooven Typewritten Letters
Lowest Rates
J. A. WANT ORGANIZATION, INC.
122 Fifth Avenue New York
Watkins 9-8910

QUICK SERVICE LETTER COMPANY
INCORPORATED

3 PARK PLACE — NEW YORK
TELEPHONE — BARCLAY 7-9633

A Direct Mail Advertising Agency

Specializing in the Planning, Preparation and Production of Mail Campaigns

(*Continued from page* 242) collection of jumbled newspaper clippings with zippy after-comments. They come from The New Yorker and are illustrated by Soglow. They do not make sense; they make nonsense. Chuckle and be grateful.

In The Worst Possible Taste tilts at some of our most respectable authors in their vulnerable moments. It is literary criticism in parody masks—and it has been far too long since we realized the beautiful uses of parody. It is, like caricature, always unfair; John Riddell (Corey Ford) doubtless does injustice to deserving authors, but part of our present need is to sharpen our judgment of words. And it never dimmed the glory of a real sun to mention its spots. There is point to a plea for authors to practice book-control by "The Norris Plan." To make Admiral Byrd the hero of The Dickie Books is a footnote on myth-making; to put Floyd Gibbons of radio and news fame on the spot is public service; and to mimic Dreiser in his drabbest and most obfuscate moments of chemical pessimism may help clarity in a dark age. The Hyndsyte Saga wherein Galsworthy wills his characters to Hugh Walpole, and The Science of Absolutely Everything in which Mr. H. G. Wells transcends omniscience, rise into realms of revelation. Besides, they are good fun.

Some folks say we are on the verge of Revolution. Some are selling tickets to Utopia (I advise a round-trip one). Some say we are slipping into The Dark Ages, with all modern conveniences. And *I* say that Posterity will be grateful, even amid the ruins, if we will them the ancient gift of laughter.

LEON WHIPPLE

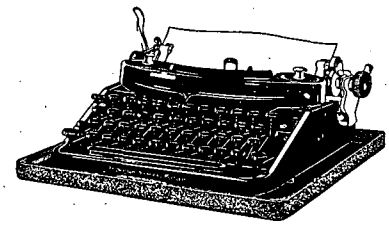
THE CLINC OF CLERIC, *by W. A. Cameron. Long & Smith. 249 pp. Price* $2.

THE minister of Yorkminster Church, Toronto, here records some cases and some conclusions in the matters that concern a pastor's week-day ministry: fear, failure, worry, passion, freedom, cynicism, play, suffering, and so on. The Protestant confessional from the inside.

THE YOUNG REVOLUTIONIST, *by Pearl S. Buck. Friendship Press. 182 pp. Price* $1.50.

MRS. BUCK'S now familiar style proves exactly right for the purpose of popular education. Her contribution to the literature of church mission study, (*Continued on page* 256)

The New
Remington Portable
NOISELESS



Typewrite anywhere! Any time! At home . . . in your hotel room . . . while you're traveling! Here's a typewriter which will not disturb your neighbors . . . will not wreck your own train of thought.

For the newest portable typewriter is *Noiseless*—write as fast as you like, all you hear is a gentle purr—just a few steps away it can't be heard at all. And the concave keys are shaped to take shock from the finger tips—being black instead of glaring white they even protect the eyes from fatigue.

And, you'll marvel at the clean-cut, uniform typing . . . the same mechanical principles which eliminate noise are also responsible for a writing quality equal to that of the finest office machines.

MARY R. ANDERSON
112 East 19th St. New York, N. Y.

When calling at THE SURVEY
let us show you the New Portable.

(In answering advertisements please mention THE SURVEY)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE POWER FIGHT

by STEPHEN RAUSHENBUSH

just published in the New Republic Dollar Series

ERNEST GRUENING, writing in the *Saturday Review of Literature* said: "This will be, *par excellence*, the volume which the power propagandists will, in the manner recently brought to light by the Federal Trade Commission, seek to exclude from public libraries and general circulation. But despite the *index electricus expurgatorius*, elementary self-interest requires that every American read and tell his neighbor about 'The Power Fight.' It is the latest word . . . the most revealing book since the vertiginous descent into our economic Avernus . . . it makes clear the whole anti-social nature of the acquisitive exploitative, speculative forces in our present system. He has done a superb piece of research and compilation."

JOHN TRACY FLEMING, writing in the *Public Utilities Fortnightly* said: "The book is well written and has a complete list of references and index. Utility executives would do well to buy and read it. It is the complete indictment against them; it is their enemy at its worst. This reviewer read every word of it and enjoyed it immensely."

Price $1.00 at your booksellers

***or direct from:* NEW REPUBLIC, INC.**
421 West 21st St., New York

(*Continued from page* 255) aided by a gay and tasteful make-up, may be recommended as a model to writers of propaganda fiction. The picture it draws of children, farmers, and soldiers in the early days of the Republican regime of China, though broad and almost conventionalized, is remarkably true to life and will prove moving by its simplicity.

ROCK-BOTTOM RESPONSIBILITY

(*Continued from page* 224)

or that the state must contribute to the insurance fund or reserve. All that a compulsory system necessarily involves is that the employer is under statutory obligation to provide insurance or reserves to protect his employes against a stated period of unemployment.

As long as the community bears the cost we virtually subsidize unemployment.

The fear has been expressed that such compulsory insurance would be injurious to the labor movement. The very contrary, it seems to me, is the truth. It will minimize the destructive competition, during periods of depression, of millions of unorganized workers. An established system of compulsory employment insurance would give the labor unions a real stake in the management of business.

Employers are naturally apprehensive of the effect upon their competitive position. Yet those who have voluntarily assumed the obligation report that the increased good-will and contentment of the employes, the elimination of soldiering, and the stimulus to management have resulted in efficiencies which more than balance the cost.

The principal responsibility for unemployment insurance rests with the states. The reasons for federal encouragement are inherent in our economic organization. State boundaries are not economic barriers. They do not check the spread of depression. A similar economic interdependence is apparent between agriculture and industry. The stabilization of industry, the maintenance of purchasing power, the mitigation of want must be national and not merely local achievements.

WHAT'S HAPPENING TO THE SCHOOLS

(*Continued from page* 238)

scheme of school support or close their schools. The school system of the great city of Chicago, for example, is on the verge of a complete breakdown, largely because its means of obtaining school money is so ill-adapted to modern conditions.

Within the past two years, five states have passed entirely new personal income-tax laws and eight have increased the rates of laws already in effect. In the same period four states have enacted measures levying on corporation income and seven others have increased corporation tax rates. Such measures help free the schools from the outworn general property tax.

What does all this tell us about the actual effects—good and bad—of the hard times on the schools?

On the negative side may be cited communities which have completely closed their schools and others which are eliminating such services as evening schools, kindergartens and health work, particularly needed in the present emergency. The radical shortening of school terms which is taking place in many rural areas and in some cities not only deprives children of school advantages, but also lowers the morale of parents who, unemployed themselves, are forced to see their children's future thus imperiled by the depression.

Throughout the nation school building programs have been cut to the bone at a time when the cost of building construction is the lowest in more than a decade, and when public construction is urged to assist economic recovery.

Many communities are increasing the size of classes to the point where children are herded rather than taught. The disorganization of the schools in some communities is undoubtedly opening the way to undesirable political influences.

When such negative forces are all operating in a particular city or state there is danger that a whole generation of the community's children will be robbed of their educational opportunity. A responsible school official states: "The progress which has been made in this state during a quarter of a century has been cut from under us and we must start again from where we were before the World War. If our revenues were the only loss we would not be in such a disastrous condition. The recent legislature, however, destroyed practically every good school law on the statute books."

AT the same time the credit side of the ledger must not be overlooked. School heads and taxpayers are asking more searchingly than ever before, What is education about? What are we trying to accomplish in our schools? Is our present program shaped by tradition or by the needs of our children? As the result of such challenge of educational theory and practice we may surely hope for schools better fitted to the task of educating children for life in the modern world.

The attitude of school boards throughout the nation toward teachers' salaries is heartening. Faced with decreased revenue some communities have reduced teachers' salaries. However, such action is the exception rather than the rule, particularly in the cities. Because of the value to the children of having trained and experienced teachers, it is educationally as well as socially important that school salaries have been among the last, rather than the first, items cut in balancing the education budgets of the depression years. In fact, if the lowered cost of living is taken into account it seems likely that the "real wage" at least of city teachers will be as high in 1932 as it was in 1929.

It is too early to hazard a guess as to the final effect of the depression on public education. The emergency is placing unprecedented burdens upon the fiscal machinery of many states and communities. Thus far it appears, however, that the American public is unwilling to admit that the situation is sufficiently serious to justify denying educational opportunity to the oncoming generation. Clearly the depression is acting in some communities to the serious harm of the schools and of the children which they serve. But it is equally certain that the fundamental structure of public education is still sound. The public school system, the most practical expression of the American dream of equality of opportunity for all, stands firm in spite of hard times.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED